

POL 27 - 14

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

1-1-68

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

Retain class'n  Change/classify to \_\_\_\_\_  
 Declassify with reference of \_\_\_\_\_  
EO 12958, 25X  
FPC/HDR by JK Date: 3/7/96

Withdrawal No. \_\_\_\_\_

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DECLASSIFIED  
Authority VND 959503  
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Pol 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 188

PAGE 01 PARIS 13329 301952Z

85  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, IO 13, ACDA 16,  
RSR 01, /156 W

R 301850Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 1067  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 13329

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

REF: DAKAR 2561 6/80 7-1

① 1. REPORT CONTAINED REFTEL CONFIRMED BY SENECALESE AMBASSADOR HERE (GUILLABERT) WHO TOLD EMBOFF MORNING APRIL 30 THAT BOTH "BIAFRA" AND FEDERAL MILITARY GOVT HAVE ACCEPTED DAKAR AS SITE FOR TALKS. GUILLABERT SAID HE MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH BIAFRAN REPS ON SUBJECT TALKS AND RELAYING WORD TO DAKAR. HE NOT FULLY INFORMED ON ATTITUDE OF FMG WHICH TALKING DIRECTLY TO DAKAR BUT HE HAS INFORMED NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR HERE OF HIS CONTACTS WITH BIAFRANS. GUILLABERT SAID QUESTION OF WHO WILL REPRESENT "BIAFRA" STILL UNRESOLVED. FMG WANTED AZIKIWE TO HEAD BIAFRAN DELEGATION

PAGE 2 RUFNCR 13329 C O N F I D E N T I A L  
BUT BIAFRA SEEMS TO BE LEANING TOWARD OKIGBO. FMG DELEGATION LIKELY TO BE LED BY ARIKPO. HE GAVE NO INDICATION OF TIMING.

2. QUAZ DESK OFFICER FOR NIGERIA (PIERRET) TOLD EMBOFF AFTERNOON APRIL 30 BOTH SIDES SEEMED AGREE IN PRINCIPLE TO BEGIN TALKS BUT HE DOUBTS THEY WILL BEGIN FOR ANOTHER TEN DAYS OR SO SINCE BOTH SIDES ALSO STRIVING OBTAIN MAXIMUM BARGAINING STRENGTH.

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"BIAFRA" HOPES THAT IF IT HOLDS ON FOR ANOTHER TWO WEEKS  
IVORY COAST MAY RECOGNIZE. FMG HOPES IT CAN MAKE MAJOR  
GAINS ON GROUND BEFORE GOING TO TABLE.

GP-3. WALLNER

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08693 292038Z

R9  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, RSR 01, GPM 04, CIAE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04, IO 13, SAH 03, 144 W

R 291508Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 378  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION USUN  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA/AFSA  
DIA  
BT

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8693

NOFORN

SUBJ: ARIKPO BRIEFS AFRICANS ON LONDON TALKS

1. COMMISSIONER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIKPO MET WITH AFRICAN CHIEFS OFMISSION AND OAU SYG DIALLO TELLI IN CLOSED-DOOR SESSION IN LAGOS AFTERNOON APRIL 27 TO BRIEF THEM ON STATUS OF PEACE TALKS WITH "BIAFRA."
2. ACCORDING GHANAIAN SOURCES, ARIKPO THINKS TALKS VERY LIKELY BEGIN WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. FMG PREFERENCES THAT COMMONWEALTH SYG ARNOLD SMITH BE ACCORDING POINT, PRIMARILY BECAUSE SMITH HAS ALREADY "MADE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08693 292038Z

THREE QUARTERS OF THE PREPARATIONS." FOR THIS REASON, FMG PREFERENCES CONTINUE THROUGH SMITH RATHER THAN BEGIN ALL OVER THROUGH DIFFERENT CHANNEL. (IN THIS CONNECTION, EMBASSY NOTES THAT WHILE BIAFRANS HAVE SAID THEY DO NOT REGARD UK AS NEUTRAL TERRITORY, AND HAVE PREVIOUSLY INDICATED SMITH "NOT INDEPENDENT OF LONDON AND LAGOS,"

RADIO BIAFRA SAID AS LATE AS APRIL 27 THAT BIAFRA "APPRECIATED" HIS "CONTINUING EFFORTS PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT," AND ON SAME DAY IN DIFFERENT BROADCAST SAID "GOVT OF BIAFRA APPRECIATES THE DILEMMA OF COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT." THIS WOULD SEEM INDICATE SOME "LWCW" ON THEIR PART REGARDING SC INVOLVEMENT.)

3. REGARDING OAU, ARIKPO GAVE IMPRESSION THAT FMG, WHILE DEFINITELY PREFERRING CWSYG, WOULD WILLINGLY USE OAU CHANNEL IF REBELS ABSOLUTELY BALK AT SMITH. GHANAIANS TELL US IT THEIR IMPRESSION THAT FMG MIGHT AGREE TO TALKS IN DAKAR. GHANAIANS THINK ADDIS RULED OUT WHILE HIM AWAY ON TRIP AND SHOWED NO ENTHUSIASM FOR ACCRA. THEY SPECULATE KINSHASA POSSIBLE VENUE FOR TALKS IN VIEW MOBUTU POSITION AS PRESIDENT OAU.

4. GHANAIANS HERE CONFIRMED ACCRA'S REPORTING OF MOBUTU ATTEMPTS PROMOTE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT NIGERIAN CRISIS DURING HIS STAY IN ACCRA. THEY SAY BOTH ANKRAH AND MOBUTU TELEPHONED GOWON URGING A

CEASE-FIRE, WHICH HE FLATLY REFUSED. SINCE THERE NOTHING FOR MOBUTU TO TALK ABOUT IN LAGOS, HE DID NOT STOP EN ROUTE KINSHASA.

5. ARIKPO WAS INTERVIEWED ON LAGOS TV SUNDAY EVENING APRIL 28. HE CAREFULLY LEFT DOOR OPEN FOR TALKS UNDER AUSPICES CS, OAU AND OTHERS, BUT EMPHASIZED ANY SPONSORS WOULD NOT BE PARTICIPANTS IN NEGOTIATIONS. TALKS

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COULD BE HELD WITHOUT "PRECONDITIONS" OR "PRECONCESSIONS" BUT, ARIKPO EMPHASIZED, NIGERIA'S "OBJECTIVES" OF A UNITED COUNTRY AND 12-STATE FEDERAL STRUCTURE REMAIN UNCHANGED.

GP-3

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POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria  
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29

SECRET 442

PAGE 01 LONDON 8489 281731Z

43  
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, 1070 W

O P 281714Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3241  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LONDON 8489

LIMDIS

REF STATE 154602 AND 154577; LAGOS 8687; LONDON 8483

1. EMBOFF SAW BIAFRAN CONTACT SUNDAY AFTERNOON (APRIL 28) AND STRONGLY URGED THAT OJUKWU SEIZE OPPORTUNITY TO BEGIN TALKS AFFORDED BY ARIKPO'S APPARENT ACCEPTANCE OF IBO PROPOSAL FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. BIAFRAN CONTACT REPLIED ARIKPO'S STATEMENTS IN LONDON SEEMED TO HAVE NULLIFIED BY FMG'S PRESS RELEASE OF APRIL 26 SPELLING OUT SEVEN-POINT AGENDA

(1)  
PAGE TWO RUDTCR 8489 S E C R E T  
UNACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRANS. EMBOFF SAID IT NOT CLEAR THAT SEVEN POINTS CONSTITUTED CONDITIONS AND ARIKPO WAS REPORTED TO HAVE REAFFIRMED FMG'S WILLINGNESS TO TALK WITHOUT PRE- CONDITIONS IN STATEMENT MADE IN LAGOS APRIL 27. EMPHASIZED THAT WE BELIEVED OJUKWU SHOULD NOT MISS PRESENT OPPORTUNITY TO SEE IF BLOODSHED COULD BE ENDED AND SETTLEMENT ACHIEVED ON HONORABLE TERMS. BIAFRAN CONTACT SAID HE WOULD CONVEY MESSAGE TO OJUKWU.

2. EMBOFF ALSO HAD SEPARATE ENCOUNTER WITH COMMONWEALTH SYG ARNOLD SMITH WHO SAID HE HAD JUST RECEIVED MESSAGE FROM MATTHEW MBU AFFIRMING BIAFRANS WERE READY TO TALK UNCONDITIONALLY BUT PROPOSING DAKAR RATHER THAN LONDON AS SITE FOR TALKS (SUNDAY PRESS CARRIES SAME REPORT). SMITH THOUGHT DAKAR MIGHT POSE PROBLEMS FOR COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT AND HE WAS SLIGHTLY VEXED THAT BIAFRANS HAD ONCE AGAIN SHIFTED POSITION. HE REALIZED

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PAGE 02 LONDON 08489 281731Z

HOWEVER THAT PUBLICITY CURRENTLY BEING GIVEN TO BOMBINGS  
AND BRITISH ARMS SHIPMENTS TO LAGOS IN BRITISH PRESS MIGHT

PAGE THREE RUDTCR 8489 S E C R E T  
HAVE INFLUENCED IROS. SMITH WAS MEETING LATER SUNDAY AFTERNOON  
WITH HIS STAFF TO REVIEW SITUATION AND WAS ATTEMPTING PLACE  
CALL TO ARIKPO IN LAGOS TO ASK WHAT FMG'S ATTITUDE WAS TOWARD  
DAKAR AS SITE FOR TALKS.

3. EMBOFF ACQUAINTED SMITH WITH OUR EFFORTS TO KEEP BOTH SIDES  
MOVING TOWARD PEACE TABLE AND HE EXPRESSED SATISFACTION.  
BRUCE

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TOP SECRET

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L T H D T S

Screener

POST London

SERIAL 8487

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1968 APR 28 PM 1 06

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

851

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S/S-S 1  
S/S-O 1  
S/S-Screener 3  
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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES 2  
S 1  
U  
M 2  
G

SIG  
S/AH 3  
S/AL

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S/GOV  
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Geographic

AF 5 X5  
ARA 9  
EA 13  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10  
CIA  
DOD  
USIA 4  
NSA

Other

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AA/AFR 2  
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AA/NESA 2

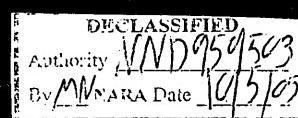
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 360

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08678 280354Z

81  
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, 1070 W

O 280315Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 371  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

SECRET LAGOS 8678

LIMDIS

REF: A) STATE 153848 AND B) 154602;

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACETALKS

1. NEW DEVELOPMENT PERTINENT TO REFTELS IS INDICATION IN  
SECESSIONIST RADIO BROADCAST 2000GMT APRIL 27 FBIS ITEM N 2721151  
THAT "BIAFRA" IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACE TALKS.  
ALTHOUGH HEAVILY LARDED WITH PROPAGANDA AND RESTATEMENTS OF  
OF THEIR VIEWS, BROADCAST DOES STATE THAT "OFFICIAL STATEMENT

①  
PAGE 2 RUTALS 8678CC SECRET  
TONIGHT SAID "BIAFRA HAD APPOINTED HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION  
TO TAKE PART IN PEACE CONFERENCE" AND THAT THE DECLARATION IS  
"READY TO LEAVE WITHIN 48 HOURS." BIAFRA HAS ALSO PROPOSED  
DAKAR AS VENUE BECAUSE NIGERIA "HAS INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS  
TO ATTEND A MEETING IN AFRICA" AND IT "DOES NOT CONSIDER  
ANYWHERE IN BRITAIN A NEUTRAL VENUE FOR PEACE TALKS BECAUSE  
BRITISH GOVT HAS BEEN ACTIVELY PARTICIPATING IN THE WAR BY  
SUPPLYING NIGERIA WITH ARMS AND EQUIPMENT AND EVEN NOW HAS  
INDICATED ITS INTENTION TO CONTINUE DOING SO." FINALLY, BIAFRA  
"MAINTAINS ITS POSITION AS COMMUNICATED TO THE COMMONWEALTH  
SECRETARY GENERAL. IN REPLY TO ARNOLD SMITH'S LETTER OF LAST  
WEDNESDAY, GOVERNMENT OF BIAFRA STATED THAT IT WOULD ACCEPT  
PEACE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AND THAT A CEASE FIRE  
SHOULD BE THE FIRST ITEM ON THE AGENDA."

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2. NEW DEVELOPMENT ON NIGERIAN SIDE WAS ANNOUNCEMENT OVER LAGOS RADIO AND TV AT 2000 GMT APRIL 27 THAT ARIKPO, AFTER RETURN TO LAGOS, TOLD REPORTERS FMG CONTINUES BE WILLING ENGAGE IN TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONSM EMBASSY HAS NOT YET SEEN TEXT ARIKPO'S STATEMENT. EVIDENTLY HIS PURPOSE WAS TO

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8678CC S E C R E T  
DISABUSE REPORTERS OF IDEA THAT MOST RECENT FMG STATEMENT HAD IN FACT SET CONDITIONS FOR TALKS.

3. IN VIEW THESE DEVELOPMENTS, IT APPEARS THAT MEASURE OF AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON HOLDING TALKS. WE KNOW FROM PREVIOUS MESSAGES THAT FMG EXPECTED BIAFRA TO SUGGEST DAKAR AND THAT FMG PROBABLY WILLING AGREE. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION LAGOS HAS NO ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS. (EMBASSY INFORMED HICOM OF LATEST BIAFRAN BROADCAST PARA 1 ABOVE.)

4. I WILL TRY TO SEE ARIKPO TODAY (SUNDAY), IF HE CAN BE LOCATED, TO DELIVER STATEMENT PARA 2 REF A. IN VIEW ARIKPO STATEMENT OF APRIL 27 (PARA 2 ABOVE) WILL USE BIAFRAN STATEMENT (PARA 1 ABOVE) TO INQUIRE ABOUT STATUS OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR TALKS. IF APPROPRIATE, WILL EXPRESS OUR CONCERN ABOUT CONFUSION CAUSED BY INJECTING PROPOSED AGENDA INTO STATEMENTS OF WILLINGNESS TO TALK WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

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SECRET

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

TOP SECRET

INCOMING  
LIMDIS

Screener *JG*

POST Lagos  
SERIAL 8678

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1968 APR 27 PM 11 23

843

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

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S/S-Screener 3/  
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MILRep /  
Summary /  
Task Force /

Principals

ES 2 ✓/  
S ✓/  
U ✓/  
M 2 /  
G /H /  
  
SIG ✓/  
S/AL 3 /  
S/AL /

S/CPR /  
S/GOV /  
S/IL /  
S/P ✓/  
S/R /  
S/FW /  
S/PM /  
M/WP /

G/PM /  
G/DP /

Geographic

AFS X 5  
ARA 9  
EA 11  
EUR 9 ✓ 9  
NEA 7

Functional

CU  
E 2  
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INR 6 ✓ 6  
IO 4 ✓ 4  
L 2  
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P 2 ✓ 2  
SCA  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 ✓ 10  
CIA ✓ 1  
DOD ✓ 1  
USIA 4 ✓ 4  
NSA

Other

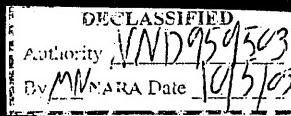
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AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 2  
AA/NESA 2

PC

VP ✓  
AEC 3  
AGR 3  
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TR POL 16 BIAFRA  
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SECRET 871

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08681 291316Z

44  
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, 1070 W

O P 281730Z APR 68 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 372  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
INFO AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8681

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y F O R M R N O N L Y (V I C E 8678)

REF# (A) LAGOS 8678, (B) STATE 153848, (C) STATE 154602 SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. I SAW ARIKPO THIS AFTERNOON IN PRESENCE EDWARD ENAHORO, DEPMERSEC AND COL. OLUTOYE OF EXTAFF AND DELIVERED ORAL MESSAGE PARA 2 REF B. ARIKPO WAS PLEASED AND EXPRESSED GRATITUDE "FOR USG SUPPORT AT THIS TIME." I ALSO INFORMED HIM OF PROPOSED ACTION PARA 3 (B) WHCH HE THOUGHT WOULD BE HELPFUL.

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8678CC S E C R E T

2. TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE, I EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER INTERPRETATIONS BEING GIVEN FMG STATEMENT APRIL 26, PARA 1 REF. C, ADDING THAT I REALIZED HIS STATEMENT OF YESTERDAY EVENING (PARA 2 REF A) WOULD DO MUCH TO DISPEL SUCH WORRIES, BUT BIAFRANS HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE QUICK TO TAKE PROPAGANA ADVANTAGE OF ANY INDICATIONS FMG MIGHT BE BACKING OFF FROM POSITION OF TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. ARIKPO REPLIED HE WAS AWARE OF THIS DANGER BUT REITERATED FMG POSITION HAD NOT CHANGED.

3. I PROBED FOR INTENTIONS FMG RE NEGOTIATIONS BY ASKING IF DAKAR

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AS PROPOSED BY BIAFRANS WOULD BE AN ACCEPTABLE VENUE. THEY SQUIRMD ON THIS ONE, ENAHORO POINTING OUT THAT THIS WAS HARDLY NEUTRAL GROUND, THAT THEY WOULD EXPECT SENGHOR TO INJECT SELF INTO TALKS AND COMEDOWN IN SUPPORT OF BIAFRANS. ENAHORO ADDED "SINCE OJUKWU HAS REJECTED ROLE IN TALKS W/COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, THE TALKS SHOULD BE IN ADDIS UNDER SPONSORSHIP OAU COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA." HE REGRETTED FACT HIM WAS LEAVING ONLONG TRIP AT THIS POINT BUT SAID "DIALLO TELLI WOULD BE HELPFUL". I ASKED IF HE THOUGHT DIALLO WOULD BE NEUTRAL. HE LAUGHED AND SAID "YES, TOWARD US, HE WANTS TO BE REELECTED YOU KNOW." I

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8678CC S E C R E T  
VOLUNTEERED VIEW THAT OJUKWU WOULD GAIN SIGNIFICANT PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE IF DAKAR AS VENUE WAS TURNED DOWN OUT OF HAND AND EXPRESSED HOPE THEY WOULD PLAY THIS CAREFULLY. I GATHERED THAT ARIKPO NOT NECESSARILY AS WORRIED ABOUT DAKAR OR VENUE AS ENAHORO, AND BOTH SEEMED TO APPRECIATE PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN REJECTING DAKAR.

4. ON SUBJECT OF TIMING OF TALKS, BOTH ARIKPO AND ENAHORO ACKNOWLEDGED THEY WOULD HAVE TO MOVE FAST BUT SAID THAT 48 HOURS WAS MUCH TOO SHORT A TIME TO ORGANIZE DETAILS.

5. RE COMPOSITION OF POSSIBLE NIGEIAN DELEGATION, ARIKPO SAID THEY HAVE HAD DELEGATION READY FOR LONG TIME. HE WOULD NOT PARTICIPATE SINCE THIS WOULD GIVE "INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER" TO TALKS I.E. IMPLY TALKS WERE BETWEEN SOVEREIGN STATES. TALKS TERMINATED BECAUSE ARIKPO HAD TO RUSH OFF TO PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH EMB. WILL REPORT AS SOON AS DETAILS AVAILABLE.

6. OTHER.

(A) FMG SEEMS TO BE PUSHING FOR OAU IN LIEU CS SPONSORSHIP OF TALKS. (I EXPRESSED SURPRISE TO ARIKPO AND ENAHORO THAT BECAUSE OJUKWU SEEMINGLY REJECTED CS IN RADIO BROADCAST THEY APPEARED TO BE GIVING UP CS AS INTERMEDIARY). I DO NOT

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8678CC C S E C R E T

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RELIEVE HOWEVER THEY HAVE COMPLETELY RULED OUT CS USEFULNESS  
OR LONDON AS POSSIBLE VENUE.

(B) FMG CONTINUES TO BE WORRIED ABOUT POSSIBLE FRANCE AND FRANO-  
PHONE COUNTRIES RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA.

(C) REF. TIMING OF TALKS, I GAINED DEFINITE IMPRESSION FMG WOULD  
HOPE  
TO HAVE PORT HARCOURT INVESTED BEFORE BEGINNING  
TALKS, SOMETHING THEY SEEM TO EXPECT IN THE IMMEDIATE  
FUTURE. THERE MAY BE SOME FOOT DRAGGING FOR THIS REASON.

(D) ARIKP COMMENTED WRITELY ON DIFFICULTY OF ASSESSING  
TRUE INTENTIONS BEHIND RADIO AND PRESS STATEMENTS AND  
THOUGHT TIME HAD COME TO FIND BETTER WAY TO NEGOTIATE.

GP-4. OLSON

SECRET

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Screener

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Geographic

Other

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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

AF<sub>5</sub> X 5  
ARA 5  
EA 11  
EUR 9  
NEA 7

ACDA 5  
AID/EXSEC 3  
AA/AFR 2  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA 3  
AA/NESA 2

Principals

Functional

PC

ES 2 1  
S 2 4  
U 1  
M 2  
G 1

CU  
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IO 4 7  
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STG 1  
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OTHER AGENCIES  
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S O M I N G  
L I M D I S

Screener *HPZ*

POST *XABOS*  
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1968 APR 28 PM 2 35

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 MillRep  
 Summary  
 Task Force

Principals

ES 2 *1*  
 S 1  
 U 1  
 M 2  
 G 1  
 STG 1  
 S/AH 3  
 S/AL 1

S/CPR  
 S/GOV  
 S/IL  
 S/P *1*  
 S/R  
 S/FW  
 S/PM  
 M/WP  
 G/PM *1*  
 G/DP

S/A *✓*

Geographic

AF *5*  
 ARA 9  
 EA 11  
 EUR 9  
 NEA 7

Functional

CU  
 E 2  
 H  
 ICA  
 INR *6* 4  
 IO 4  
 L 2  
 O 3  
 OPR  
 OC  
 SY  
 WLG  
 P 2 *2*  
 SCA  
 SCS  
 SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 *10*  
 CIA 1  
 DOD *3* 11  
 USIA 4 *4*  
 NSA

Other

ACDA 5  
 AID/EXSEC 3  
 AA/AFR 2  
 AA/VN 2  
 AA/EA 3  
 AA/NESA 2

PC

VP  
 AEC 3  
 AGR 3  
 COM 2  
 EXIM  
 FRB  
 LAB  
 NASA  
 NIC  
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 TRANS  
 TRSY 6  
 JUS  
 IRS  
 INT  
 BOB  
 FBI  
 CEA  
 FAA

File  
 Burned

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DECLASSIFIED  
 Authority *VND 950503*  
 By MN NARA Date *10/5/05*



POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

28

SECRET 080

PAGE 01 LONDON 8483 271149Z

18

ACTION SS 70

LIMDIS

8/1/68  
LIMDIS  
Biafra  
info

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, 1070 W  
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O P 271129Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3235  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LONDON 8483 POL

REF: (A) STATE 153848; (B) LONDON 8474

- 1° DEPT'S MESSAGE (REF A) ARRIVED AFTER DEPARTURE OF ARIKPO FOR LAGOS LAST NIGHT (APRIL 26). FROM OUR TALKS YESTERDAY WITH COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S NORRIS AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S SMITH (REF B), WE HAVE NO DOUBT THEY WOULD WELCOME ACTION ALONG LINES SUGGESTED BY DEPT. ACCORDINGLY WE HOPE EMB LAGOS WILL BE AUTHORIZED TO DELIVER ORAL MESSAGE.
- 2° EMBOFF IS LUNCHING SUNDAY WITH CONTACT WHO MEETS DEPT'S SPECIFICATIONS FOR UNOFFICIAL "BIAFRAN" REP. UNLESS WE

PAGE 2 RUDTCR 8483 S E C R E T  
INSTRUCTED TO CONTRARY, OR LAST-MINUTE DEVELOPMENTS MAKE ACTION UNNECESSARY, EMBOFF WILL USE OCCASION SPEAK TO HIM IN SENSE PARA 3 OF REFTEL.

3° WE CONTINUE HOPE DEPT WILL BE ABLE TO MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT OF KIND RECOMMENDED BY SMITH (REF B).

KAI SER

NOTE: HANDLED LIMDIS PER S/S-0

ROUTINE BY AIR

SECRET

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By	MVNARA Date 10/5/05

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POST London  
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(Time Received)

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 832

Secretariat

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 S/S-Screener 3  
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 S/S-CMS  
 S/S-O DIR  
 MilRep  
 Summary  
 Task Force

Principals

ES 2  
 S 2  
 U  
 M 2  
 G  
 SIG  
 S/AH 3  
 S/AL  
 S/CPR  
 S/GOV  
 S/IL  
 S/P  
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 S/FW  
 S/PM  
 M/WP  
 G/PM  
 G/DP

Geographic

AFS 15  
 ARA 9  
 EA 11  
 EUR 9 X 9  
 NEA 7

Functional

CU  
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 OPR  
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 WLG

P

SCA  
 SCS  
 SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 10  
 CIA 7  
 DOD  
 USIA 4  
 NSA

Other

ACDA 5  
 AID/EXSEC 3  
 AA/AFR 2  
 AA/VN 2  
 AA/EA 3  
 AA/NESA 2

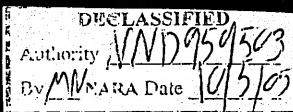
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File

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

28  
Date Apr 27 1968

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08676 271622Z

51  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, GPM 04, CIAE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, RSR 01, /112 W

P R 271226Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 369  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USMISSION USUN  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA  
DIA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
STATE GRNC

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8676

SUBJ: INITIAL "BIAFRAN" COMMENT ON ARIKPO MISSION

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8676CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

1. SECESSIONIST RADIO BROADCAST NEWSTALK ENTITLED "THEY MEET TO PROMOTE GENOCIDE" 1700 GMT APRIL 26. FBIS REPORTS THIS

(1) FIRST TIME REBEL RADIO HEARD MENTION THAT ARIKPO IN LONDON AND NOTES SECESSIONIST RADIO HAS NOT YET REPORTED ARIKPO'S

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By MMNARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08676 271622Z

APRIL 25 STATEMENT IN LONDON (LAGOS 8658) THAT FMG WILLING HOLD PEACE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

2. DEPT WILL HAVE FULL TEXT IN FBIS N261750, NEWSTALK, WHICH HIGHLY VITUPERATIVE IN TONE, CONSISTS MAINLY OF ANTI-BRITISH DIATRIBE IN WHICH FMG FIGURES LARGELY AS BRITISH PUPPET.

3. BRITISH ARE ACCUSED OF HAVING "MASTERMINED AND ORGANIZED MASSACRE OF THOUSANDS OF OUR PEOPLE. IT WAS BRITISH GOVT THAT ADVISED AND INSTIGATED HAUSA-FULANI FEUDAL MONSTERS... TO DECLARE WAR OF GENOCIDE... BRITISH STILL SUSTAIN AND

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8676CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE. SUPPORT GOWON IN HIS DREAM OF EXTERMINATING OUR PEOPLE."

4. CONCERNING PEACE TALK PROPOSALS, NEWSTALK SAYS "NOW THAT BRITAIN HAS REALIZED PROGRESSIVE AFRICAN NATIONS ARE DECRYING BRITISH ROLE, BRITAIN PRETENDING TO BE INTERESTED IN PEACE, URGING NIGERIAN LEADERS ACCEPT MEDIATION OF BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS... EVERYONE KNOWS HOW NIGERIA HAS REJECTED OUR PEACE OFFERS. ARIKPO HAS GONE LONDON FOR HIS DIRECTIVES IN NIGERIA'S WAR OF GENOCIDE... BUT PROGRESSIVE AND PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER WILL STOP BRITAIN AND NIGERIA FROM ACHIEVING THEIR DEVILISH ENDS. THEY WILL DO THIS BY FOLLOWING EXAMPLE OF NYERERE OF TANZANIA. THEY WILL CONDEMN GENOCIDE BY ACCORDING DIPLOMATICrecognition OF OUR YOUNG REPUBLIC."

5. EMBASSY NOTES SECESSIONIST RADIO HAS BEEN TAKING VIOLENTLY ANTI-BRITISH LINE FOR SOME TIME; THIS NEWSTALK SHOULD PROBABLY NOT BE CONSIDERED AN OFFICIAL REPLY TO ARIKPO'S OFFER TO HOLD TALKS.

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27-14 Biafra Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

22 Lagos 8673

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08673 291522Z

54  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, GPM 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,  
P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, IO 13, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01,  
ORM 03, E 15, RSR 01 /163 W

P R 271226Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 366  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USUN NEW YORK 277  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA  
DIA UNN  
BT  
UNCLAS LAGOS 8673

SUBJECT: FMG AGENDA FOR PEACE TALKS

1. FMG ISSUED PRESS RELEASE DATED APRIL 26 ENTITLED "FEDERAL GOVT STATEMENT ON AGENDA FOR PEACE TALKS WITH SECESSIONIST LEADERS."
2. FMG CONFIRMS "ITS READINESS START TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AS SOON AS REBELS SHOW THEY SINCERE ABOUT ENGAGING IN TALKS MEANT TO LEAD TO LASTING SETTLEMENT."
3. FMG REITERATES THAT "PROPOSED TALKS MUST CONCENTRATE ON CONCRETE ISSUES. IN SEARCH FOR LASTING SOLUTION THERE NO RPT NO QUESTION WHATSOEVER OF DISCUSSION EXISTENCE OF INDEPENDENT IBO"

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By	MARIA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08673 291522Z

CLEAR TO ALL BY NOW" THAT EXISTENCE OF BIAFRA WOULD LEAD TO "PERMANENT FRATRICIDAL WAR: CONTINUATION OF MASSACRES AND OTHER ATROCITIES" BY BIAFRANS, "ESPECIALLY AGAINST NON-IBOS IN AREAS OF RIVERS STATE REMAINING UNDER REBEL CONTROL: CREATION BEACH-HEAD IN AFRICA FOR ENEMIES OF AFRICA" WHO SUPPLY ARMS TO REBELS; AND "DISINTEGRATION OF AFRICAN STATES."

4. "THEREFORE AGENDA OF PROPOSED TALKS MUST EMBRACE FOLLOWING.

(I) ACCEPTANCE BY REBELS THAT NIGERIA SHOULD REMAIN ONE SOVEREIGN UNITED COUNTRY:

(II) ACCEPTANCE BY REBELS OF NEW TWELVE STATES ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF FEDERATION:

(III) ARRANGEMENTS FOR RESTORING AND MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN EAST CENTRAL STATE SUCH AS WOULD REMOVE ANY GENUINE IBO FEARS ABOUT PERSONAL SAFETY;

(IV) GUARANTEES OF EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL NIGERIAN CITIZENS REGARDLESS OF ETHNIC ORIGIN.;

(V) ARRANGEMENTS FOR REHABILITATING PERSONS DISPLACED DURING THE CRISIS;

(VI) ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND OF TWELVE STATES TO WORK OUT NEW FEDERAL CONSTITUTION; AND

(VII) ARRANGEMENTS FOR REVIEW OF REVENUE ALLOCATION AND SUCH MATTERS."

"AGREEMENT ON THE ABOVE MATTERS WILL LEAD TO CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND LASTING SETTLEMENT."

"THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT APPEALS ONCE AGAIN TO THE REBELS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS TO UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS THE ONLY POSSIBLE PATH TO PEACE AND RECONCILIATION. TO TALK ABOUT RECOGNISING REBELS AS AN EQUAL PARTY TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OR TO PURSUE PEACE SLOGANS WITHOUT DISCUSSING THE ISSUES AT STAKE IS ONLY TO MANIFEST TOTAL

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10/5/05	



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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INSINCERITY."

"WHILE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS RESOLVED TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS, MILITARY AND POLITICAL, TO BRING ABOUT LASTING SOLUTIONS TO THE NIGERIAN CRISIS, IT HOPES THAT THE REBEL LEADERS WILL CONSIDER THE SUFFERINGS AND HARDSHIPS THEY ARE IMPOSING ON THE CITIZENS OF THE EAST CENTRAL STATE AND EMBRACE THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR AN HONOURABLE AND LASTING SETTLEMENT." OLSON

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By	MVN
NARA Date	10/5/05

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POC 2714 BIAFRA NIGERIA

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE:  COLLECT  
 CHARGE TO

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27 APR 68 17 16z

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info INFO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY  
Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

STATE

LIMDIS

REFS: State 153848; London 8483

1. Reuters reports new statement issued April 26 by Gowon's office proposing seven-point agenda for any meeting with Biafrans. Pending receipt of text this statement, Lagos should defer delivering oral message to Arikpo. Department also deferring decision on public statement recommended by Smith pending receipt FMG statement.
2. For LONDON: Emboff should follow through with Biafran contact.

RUSK

Drafted by: AF:AFW:RSmith:jms Tel. Ext. 6402 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Mr. Palmer

Clearances:

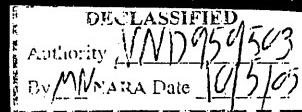
EUR/BMI - Mr. Cheslaw (subs)

FORM DS-322  
8-65

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
TR POL 16 BIAFRAL 54602

## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE:  COLLECT  
 CHARGE TO

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Classification

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27 APR 68 20 50z

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Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info:

INFO: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY  
Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

STATE

LIMDIS

REFS: State 154577; 153848; London 8483

1. We have now received FBIS text FMG statement re agenda. Unless you perceive strong objections, you authorized proceed as follows: You authorized deliver oral message contained para 2 State 153848, making clear that it had been transmitted London for delivery prior release FMG statement April 26 but unfortunately could not be conveyed prior Arikpo's departure. You should then add on your own authority expression of concern that latest FMG statement may provide Ojukwu with pretext for claiming that this represents reiteration of earlier FMG conditions and hence inconsistent with Arikpo's statement. To avoid such an interpretation, could not the FMG make clear that it is still willing to undertake serious negotiations without preconditions and that its latest statement represents only its own views with respect to the agenda, which

Drafted by: AF:AFW:RSmith:jms *[Signature]* Tel Ext 6204 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - M. Palmer

Clearances:

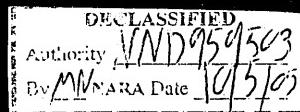
EUR/BMI: Mr. Cheslaw (subs) *[Signature]*

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8-65

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Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS; info Amembassies PARIS & LONDON

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### Classification

is appropriate subject for discussion during talks about talks? Such clarification would make it more difficult for other side to shift to FMG blame for any collapse of negotiations. Such a posture would also, you believe, do much to enhance FMG's prestige and generate considerable world sympathy for its position.

2. Begin FYI. Dept has also seen FBIS report of Ojukwu's latest statement in which he complains again of FMG conditions and attempts use them to stimulate additional acts of recognition. Our concern is that latest FMG statement plays into Ojukwu's hands by appearing to back away from Arikpo's London statement. This in turn makes more difficult issuance of USG statement along lines envisaged by Arnold Smith. End FYI.'

3. You should utilize this opportunity to draw Arikpo out on true intentions FMG re negotiations ~~andxxxxxxxxxx~~ within framework our strong hope for earliest possible negotiated settlement.

4. For London: You should inform Biafran contact of our belief that above all now is time for flexibility and that statements such as that attributed to Ojukwu on April 25 by FBIS neither helpful nor in best interests Biafran people.

RUSK

FORM DS-322A  
8-63  
CONTINUATION SHEET

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By MNARA Date 10/5/03



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Department of State

**TELEGRAM**

29 Apr 68  
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08680 281857Z

43  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, GPM 04, NSC 10,  
SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, L 03, P 04, INR 07, NSAE 00, DODE 00, SAH 03, HI 02,

(RSR) 01, /100 W

O P 271745Z APR 68 ZZF-4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 373  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8680

REF: LAGOS 8679

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. VOA CORRESPONDENT REPORTED REFTEL THAT GOWON TOLD CORRESPONDENTS LATE THIS AFTERNOON FMG WILLING HOLD PEACE TALKS UNDER AUSPICES BOTH OAU AND COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT (CS). EARLIER IN AFTERNOON ARIKPO HAD GIVEN ME IMPRESSION FMG BACKING AWAY FROM CS SPONSORSHIP (LAGOS 8678). SINCE ARIKPO HAD TALK WITH GOWON BEFORE LATTER TALKED WITH NEWSMEN IT SEEMS THAT THEY MAY HAVE DECIDED WHAT TO SAY AS THEY TALKED.

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8680CCNC O N F I D E N T I A L  
EVIDENTLY THEY DECIDED KEEP OPTIONS OPEN BY STRESSING TO NEWS MEN THAT PEACE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE UNNER SPONSORSHIP BOTH OAU AND CS.

GP-4. OLSON

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND959503
By	MARIA Date 10/15/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
153848  
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**OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State**

INDICATE:  COLLECT  
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**Classification**

*26 APR 68 21 07z*

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**Action:** AmEmbassy LONDON      **IMMEDIATE**

**Info:** AmEmbassy LAGOS      **PRIORITY**  
AmEmbassy PARIS      **PRIORITY**

**STATE**

**LIMDIS**

**SUBJ:** Possible Negotiations Between Nigeria and "Biafra"

**REF:** London 8426

1. Effort HMG and Commonwealth Secretariat making to bring FMG and "Biafra" to conference table has just brought forth statement by Nigerian Commissioner for Extaff Arikpo of willingness his Government to begin talks without preconditions. This has caused us to examine ways in which USG might support this initiative. Any USG action, we believe, should be tailored to each disputant.
- Embassy London authorized (1) if interim fast-breaking developments do not void action and (2) if appropriate HMG officials and Arnold Smith believe it would be helpful, to take steps outlined in paras 2 and 3.
2. Deliver oral RPT oral message to Arikpo as follows: "My

*(3)*

Drafted by: *Mfor*      Tel. Ext. 2619      Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: The Under Secretary *MN*

AFW:RMMelbourne/RPSmith

Clearances:

Amb. Mathews *Mfor*

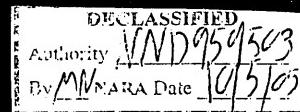
S/S - Mr. Meekan *M*  
AF - Mr. Palmer

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**Classification**

FORM DS-322  
8-65

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Page 2 of telegram to AmEmbassy LONDON

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Government has seen your statement in London that the Federal Military Government is prepared to embark on talks without preconditions under the auspices of the Commonwealth Secretary General and wishes to extend to you warm congratulations on this statesmanlike action.

The USG joins all other friends of Nigeria in expressing the fervent hope that early and fruitful negotiations will lead to an end to the fighting that we all so earnestly desire and to the resumption of the peaceful development of Nigeria's great potential."

3. Suitable Embassy officer to meet appropriate "Biafran" known by Embassy to be one of its unofficial representatives. Officer authorized to say to "Biafran" that course of events offers priceless opportunity for sincere effort under auspices CS to stop bloodshed. We believe with other friends of Africa that regime's obligation to people of its area should impel it to serious talks in a realistic framework.

4. Arikpo should be informed of action taken para 3.

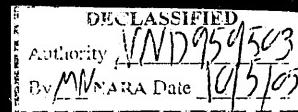
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 8474 261833Z

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ACTION SS 70

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P R 261735Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3228  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USUN 1174  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA

S E C R E T LONDON 8474

LIMDIS

(1) SUBJECT: NIGERIA: ARIKPO TALKS WITH BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH  
SECRETARIAT

REF: A. LONDON 8426 - ③ O L 27-14 Biafra  
B. LAGOS 8597

PAGE TWO RUDTCR 8474 S E C R E T

1. WE HAVE SPOKEN WITH COMMONWEALTH OFFICES NORRIS (ASSISTANT  
UNDER SECRETARY) AND WITH ARNOLD SMITH AND HENSLEY OF COMMON-  
WEALTH SECRETARIAT ABOUT ARIKPO VISIT AND THE PROSPECTS FOR  
PEACE TALKS. ALL ARE PLEASED BY ARIKPO'S FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE  
BOTH IN PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY (REF A) AND IN PRIVATE  
DISCUSSIONS.

2. SMITH INFORMS US THAT HE HAS DECIDED AGAINST MAKING PUBLIC  
STATEMENT AT THIS TIME (REF B) ON GROUNDS IT MIGHT ROCK THE  
BOAT. OJUKWU'S CRITICISM OF COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIATE AT PRESS  
CONFERENCE EARLIER THIS WEEK DOUBTLESS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS  
DECISION. SMITH SPOKE THIS WEEK WITH MOJEKWO AND DIKE, POINTING OUT  
TO THEM FMG APPEARED TO HAVE ACCEPTED IBO PROPOSAL FOR UNCON-

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Authority VND950503  
By MNARA Date 10/13/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LONDON 08474 261833Z

DITIONAL TALKS AND IT WAS NOW UP TO IBO LEADERS TO FOLLOW THROUGH. ACCORDING TO SMITH, MOJEKWU WAS APOLOGETIC ABOUT OJUKWU'S PRESS CONFERENCE CRITICISM AND LEFT YESTERDAY FOR "BIAFRA", REPORTEDLY TO URGE IBO LEADERS AGREE PROMPTLY TO TALKS. IF ALL GOES WELL CS HOPES TO HAVE RESPONSE FROM OJUKWU WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

3. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE MEANWHILE HAS ISSUED STATEMENT WELCOMING ARIKPO'S CONFIRMATION THAT "FMG IS PREPARED TO EMBARK ON TALKS

PAGE THREE 8474 S E C R E T

WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS UNDER AUSPICES OF COMMONWEALTH SYG AS SOON AS OTHERS SIDE ARE READY". STATEMENT ADDS "WE HOPE VERY MUCH THIS WILL LEAD TO EARLY PEACE TALKS AND AN END TO FIGHTING SO THAT SETTLEMENT ACCEPTABLE TO ALL NIGERIAN PEOPLE CAN BE WORKED OUT AT CONFERENCE TABLE". CS'S HENSLEY TELLS US THAT EVEN THOUGH SECRETARIAT IS NOT MAKING PUBLIC STATEMENT, THEY ARE RESPONDING TO PRESS INQUIRIES BY SAYING CS IS TRANSMITTING "FMG'S ACCEPTANCE OF PROPOSAL FOR TALKS" TO BIAFRANS.

4. ERIC NORRIS TELLS US THAT TALKS WITH ARIKPO ALSO WENT WELL ON SUBJECTS OTHER THAN NEGOTIATIONS. NIGERIAN NAVY COMMANDER WEY WILL BE COMING TO LONDON NEXT WEEK FOR TALKS ON NAVAL TRAINING PROGRAM. BRITISH EXPECT HIM TO PRESSURE THEM SEND TRAINING TEAM TO NIGERIA BEFORE END OF HOSTILITIES. NORRIS HOWEVER EXPECTS CO WILL HOLD LINE AND CONFINE DISCUSSIONS TO SELECTION OF PERSONNEL, ETC. MOD WILL SEE WEY MAY 1 AND CO WILL SEE HIM FOLLOWING DAY. ARIKPO TRIED TO OBTAIN BRITISH COMMITMENT FOR SIGNIFICANT NEW AID FOR RECONSTRUCTION, ESPECIALLY IN "LIBERATED" AREAS. BRITISH RESPONDED CAUTIOUSLY BUT DID AGREE TO SEND ENGINEERING SURVEY TEAM (OR SPECIALIST) TO LOOK INTO

PAGE FOUR RUDTCR 8474 S E C R E T

TA POSSIBILITIES AND ALSO TO SEE ABOUT DISPATCH OF MEDICAL TEAM. WHAT BRITS HAVE IN MIND IS THAT ENGINEERING SURVEY TEAM WOULD EMPHASIZE THINGS THAT COULD BE DONE LOCALLY RATHER THAN BRINGING BACK LIST OF PROJECTS REQUIRING CAPITAL ASSISTANCE. CO NEVERTHELESS REALIZES THAT PRESSURE FOR NEW AID WILL BUILD

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UP AND THAT GOVERNMENT WILL ULTIMATELY HAVE TO SCRATCH AROUND TO SEE WHAT NEW MONEY CAN BE FOUND. NORRIS SAYS THAT ON RELIEF SIDE VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES WILL HAVE MEETING MAY 2 AT WHICH CO WILL BE REPRESENTED. RED CROSS, OXFAM AND OTHERS WILL SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO INCREASE THEIR RELIEF ACTIVITIES IN NIGERIA.

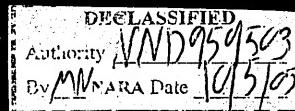
5. RE COLONEL MOHAMMED'S UNAUTHORIZED TRIP TO UK, NORRIS SAYS HE HAS NOT TRIED TO CONTACT COMMONWEALTH OFFICE OR MINISTRY OF DEFENSE AS YET.

6. COMMENT: SMITH AND HENSLEY THINK THAT CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PUBLIC PRESSURE ON OJUKWU MIGHT BE USEFUL AT THIS TIME. SMITH HAS SUGGESTED CANADIANS CONSIDER ISSUING STATEMENT ALONG LINES OF COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S REMARKS ( PARA 3 ABOVE). HE HOPES USG WILL DO LIKEWISE. IF WE DO NOT WANT TO VOLUNTEER STATEMENT HE

PAGE FIVE RUDTCR 8474 S E C R E T  
BELIEVES IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN, IN REPLY TO QUESTIONS, TO SAY THAT WE ARE ENCOURAGED BY ARIKPO'S STATEMENT AND HOPE THAT OTHER SIDE WILL RESPOND FAVORABLY.  
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 MILRep ✓  
 Summary ✓  
 Task Force ✓

## Principals

ES 2 /  
 S /  
 U ✓/  
 M 2  
 G ✓  
 SIG ✓/1  
 S/AH 3  
 S/AL ✓

S/CPR  
 S/GOV  
 S/IL ✓/  
 S/P ✓/  
 S/R  
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 S/PM  
 M/WP ✓

G/PM  
 G/DP ✓

## Geographic

AF 5 X 5  
 ARA 9  
 EA 11 ✓ 9  
 EUR 9 ✓ 9  
 NEA 7

## Functional

CU  
 E 2  
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 INR 6 ✓ 6  
 IO 4 ✓ 4  
 L 2 ✓ 2  
 O 3  
 OPR  
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 P 2 ✓ 2  
 SCA  
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## OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 ✓ 10  
 CIA ✓ 1  
 DOD ✓ 1  
 USIA ✓ 4  
 NSA ✓ 4

## Other

ACDA 5  
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 AA/VN 2  
 AA/EA 2  
 AA/NESA 2

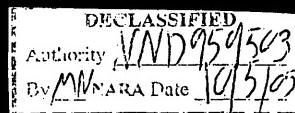
## PC

VP ✓  
 AEC 3  
 AGR 3  
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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08658 270836Z

17  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, GPM 04, CIAE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, PSR 01, /112 W

R 261955Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 359  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USUN NEWYORK 276  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE CINCMEAFSA  
DIA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1727  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMZJ  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
BT  
C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8658

REF# LONDON 8426

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. FMG COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ARIKPO STATEMENT IN LONDON APRIL 25 ON POSSIBLE PEACE TALKS WITH "BIAFRA" WHICH COULD BE HELD IN LONDON BY MAY 1 APPEARS CONTAIN SOME NEW ELEMENTS AND HAS AROUSED WIDE-Spread INTEREST. LAGOS PAPERS TODAY PLAY UP ARIKPO'S TALKS AS REPORTED BY REUTERS FROM LONDON.

2. REUTERS QUOTES ARIKPO AS SAYING "FMG PREPARED EMBARK ON TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS UNDER AUSPICES OF THE COMMONWEALTH SYG (CWSYG) AS SOON AS OTHER SIDE READY." THIS EXPLICIT WILLINGNESS USE CWSYG IS VERY DIFFERENT LINE FROM FMG STATEMENT ON OCCASION

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08658 270836Z

SMITH'S LAST VISIT LAGOS WHEN FMG TOOK GREAT PAINS DENY HE INVITED FOR ANY KIND ROLE IN PEACE-MAKING, AND MADE CLEAR THAT HIS ACTIONS IN LAGOS ENTIRELY ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE. AT THAT TIME SMITH'S STAFF PRIVATELY CONFIRMED RELATIONS WERE COOL WITH FMG. IT UNCERTAIN AT THIS STAGE WHETHER OJUKWU WILL STICK WITH STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO HIM ON APRIL 22 BY

REUTERS IBO CORRESPONDENT THAT "COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO SHOW IT IS INDEPENDENT OF BRITAIN AND LAGOS. THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE DIFFICULTY."

3° ARIKPO HAS ALSO APPARENTLY DROPPED ONE OF ORIGINAL FMG CONDITIONS FOR SETTLEMENT BMSAYING: ACCORDING REUTERS, THAT "OJUKWU WOULD BE "ACCEPTABLE" AT PEACE TALKS IF SELECTED BY "BIAFRANS". EMBASSY HAS LONG CONSIDERED THAT

AN OBVIOUS "COUNTER" WHICH FMG COULD GIVE UP, IF NECESSARY, AS TIME FOR SERIOUS BARGAINING ARRIVED.

4° ON TIMING OF MEETING WITH REBELS, EMBASSY CAN ONLY SPECULATE THAT IN SAYING IT "SHOULD BE POSSIBLE BY MAY 1 AT LATEST," ARIKPO TRYING TO MATCH FORTHCOMING AND URGENT TONE APPARENTLY SET BY OJUKWU'S DECLARATION HE WILLING MEET "WITHIN 48 HOURS," BUT IN SO DOING, HE IS GIVING AWAY NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE.

5° ONE SIDE EFFECT OF ARIKPO'S STATEMENT IS TO ALLOW HMG, WHO RESPONSIBLE IN LARGE PART FOR ELICITING IT, TO APPEAR

IN FAVORABLE LIGHT AS PEACEMAKER DURING PERIOD PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE OF UK ROLE IN NIGERIAN WAR.

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08597 251947Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

P R 251505Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 324  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
USMISSION USUN  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
DIA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8597

LIMDIS  
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TALKS WITH PM WILSON AND COMMONWEALTH  
SYG SMITH

1. BRITISH HC TODAY RECEIVED ROUND-UP REPORT FROM LONDON  
ON HIGH-LEVEL TALKS NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS  
ARIKPO HAS HAD WITH PM WILSON, COMMONWEALTH SYG ARNOLD  
SMITH AND BRITISH OFFICIALS. TEXT FOLLOWS:

2. "ARIKPO'S TALKS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, ARNOLD SMITH  
AND MYSELF HAVE BEEN AGREEABLE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. ARIKPO

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8597CC S E C R E T  
WAS RECEPTIVE TO THE POINT THAT, HOWEVER STRONG THEIR  
LEGAL CASE AND THEIR MILITARY POSITION, F.M.G. OFTEN  
APPEARED TO BE LOSING THE BATTLE FOR WORLD OPINION.  
OJUKWU'S LATEST STATEMENT SERVED AS AN APT  
ILLUSTRATION OF THE THEME THAT THE BIAFRANS HAVE

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OFTEN BEEN ABLE TO SECURE A PROPAGANDA VICTORY EVEN WHEN MAKING OFFERS WHICH HAVE EITHER BEEN INSINCERE OR LESS FORTHCOMING THAN PREVIOUS ONES.

3. "ARIKPO READILY FELL IN WITH OUR SUGGESTION THAT HE SHOULD GIVE A PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON AT WHICH HE WOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT FMG WERE READY FOR TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. PRESS CONFERENCE IS TIMED FOR 4 P.M. 24 APRIL AND HIS STATEMENT IS LIKELY TO TAKE FORM OF SAYING THAT HE HAS CONFIRMED TO ARNOLD SMITH THAT FMG ARE PREPARED TO EMBARK ON TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS UNDER HIS AUSPICES AS SOON AS OTHER SIDE IS READY AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE POSSIBLE BY MAY 1 AT LATEST.

4. "ARNOLD SMITH MAY FOLLOW THIS UP BY ANNOUNCING THAT HE HAS PROPOSED AN EARLY MEETING UNDER HIS AUSPICES OF HIGH LEVEL REPRESENTATIVES OF BOTH SIDES TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8597CC S E C R E T  
WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS IN THE HOPE OF REACHING A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. SMITH MAY ADD THAT FMG HAS ACCEPTED THIS PROPOSAL AND THAT OJUKWU'S REPRESENTATIVES HAD ALREADY CONVEYED TO COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT SUCH A PROPOSAL.

5. "WE HAVE URGED ARIKPO NOT (REPEAT NOT) TO SPOIL THE EFFECT OF HIS OWN STATEMENT BY QUALIFYING IT; E.G. BY SAYING ONCE MORE THAT EVEN IF THERE ARE NO CONDITIONS FOR TALKS THERE ARE CONDITIONS TO BE MET AT THE TALKS. WE CONSIDER THAT IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING THAT BOTH SIDES HAVE NEGOTIATING OBJECTIVES. WE FULLY APPRECIATE THAT THE FMG DO NOT INTEND TO SETTLE FOR LESS THAN ONE NIGERIA AND THE 12 STATES IN SOME FORM ACCEPTABLE TO THEM, THOUGH WE HOPE THAT THEY WILL SHOW THEMSELVES FLEXIBLE PARTICULARLY IN MATTERS AFFECTING IBO SAFETY. BUT WHAT COUNTS AT THE MOMENT IS THAT THE FMG SHOULD NOT GIVE OJUKWU ANY CHANCE TO REFUSE NEGOTIATIONS ON THE GROUND THAT ARIKPO'S OFFER OF TALKS WAS NOT GENUINELY UNCONDITIONAL.

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6. "ARIKPO IS AL VREEING#REPRESENTATIVE SELECTION  
OF  
BUSINESSMEN UNDER AUSPICES OF WEST AFRICA COMMITTEE.

QBGE 4 RUTALS 8597CC SSO C R E T  
THEY WILL SEEK ASSURANCE THAT THEY WILL NOT SUFFER IF  
THEY ACCEPT  
FEDERAL INSTRUCTION TO IGNORE BIAFRAN ULTIMATUM.

7. "HIGHLY COLOURED AND EMOTIONAL ACCOUNTS IN TODAY'S  
BRITISH PRESS OF EFFECTS OF BOMBING ATTACKS ON ABA AND  
OTHER BIAFRAN TOWNS CAN BE EXPECTED TO STIMULATE  
RENEWED DEMANDS FOR MODIFICATION OF ARMS POLICY.  
A DEBATE ON A FURTHER QUESTION BY LORD BROCKWAY IN  
THE HOUSE OF LORDS IS EXPECTED ON 29 APRIL. WE HAVE  
IMPRESSED ON ARIKPO HOW NECESSARY IT IS TO AVOID CIVILIAN  
TARGETS AND HE HAS ASSURED US THAT, THOUGH ACCIDENTS  
MAY HAVE OCCURRED, THE FMG HAD GIVEN FIRM INSTRUCTIONS  
THAT MILITARY TARGETS ONLY SHOULD BE ATTACKED."

8. RE ALLEGATION BRITISH BOMBS USED IN ATTACK ON ABA,  
COMMONWEALTH OFFICE SPOKESMAN SAID APRIL 24, "WITH  
REFERENCE TO A REPORT BY WILLIAM NORRIS IN WEDNESDAY'S  
TIMES THAT BRITAIN HAS NOT SUPPLIED ANY MILITARY AIRCRAFT  
OR AERIAL BOMBS OF ANY SORT TO THE FMG."

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S/S-O *1*  
S/S-Screener *3*  
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S/S-O DIR  
MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES *2*  
S *✓*  
U  
M *2*  
G  
  
SIG *✓*  
S/AH *3*  
S/AL

S/CPR  
S/GOV  
S/IL  
S/P *✓*  
S/R  
S/FW  
S/PM  
M/WP

G/PM  
G/DP

Geographic

AF *5*  
ARA *2*  
EA *11*  
EUR *9*  
NEA *7*

Functional

CU  
E *2*  
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INR *6*  
IO *4*  
L *2*  
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P *2*  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH *10*  
CIA *✓*  
DOD *✓*  
USTA *4*  
NSA *✓*

Other

ACDA *5*  
AD/EXSEC *3*  
AA/AFR *2*  
AA/VN *2*  
AA/EA *2*  
AA/NESA *2*

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AEC *3*  
AGR *3*  
COM *2*  
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NASA  
NIC  
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TRSY *6*  
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43  
ACTION AF 9

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, GPM 04, CIAE 00, DODE 00, SAH 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, RSR 01,

/106 W

P 251739Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3198  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA SA

UNCLAS LONDON 8426

1. IN AFTERNOON PRESS CONFERENCE NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIKPO ANNOUNCED FMG PREPARED EMBARK ON TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS UNDER AUSPICES OF COMMONWEALTH SYG "AS SOON AS OTHER SIDE ARE READY". ARIKPO SAID THIS SHOULD BE POSSIBLE BY MAY 1 AT LATEST.

2. REPLYING QUESTIONS, ARIKPO SAID FMG WOULD LEAVE AGENDA OF PRELIMINARY TALKS TO OTHER SIDE: FMG PREPARED DISCUSS CEASE-FIRE TERMS FIRST OR GO IMMEDIATELY INTO SUBSTANCE OF SETTLEMENT. HE DECLINED TO CALL MAY 1 DEADLINE BUT SAW NO REASON WHY TALKS COULD NOT BEGIN BY THEN IF OJUKWU READY. HE WOULD NOT HIMSELF REMAIN IN LONDON UNTIL THAT DATE BUT WOULD BE READY RETURN AT ANY TIME.

3. ARIKOPS STATEMENT CONCILIATORY IN TONE, STRESSED FMG'S DESIRE FOR RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION. "I AM SURE THAT THE MOMENT TALKS COMMENCE WE WOULD SOON FORGET EVEN THE MOST RECENT EVENTS". BRUCE

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INFO IO 13, EUR 15, GPM 04, C1AE 00, DODE 00, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, PC 15,

RSR 01, /155 W

R 241445Z APR 68  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 304  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USUN 274  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA  
DIA

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SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA PEACE TALKS

REF: LAGOS 8544

1. BBC CARRIED STORY MORNING 24TH ATTRIBUTED TO REUTERS  
IN LAGOS THAT FMG SPOKESMAN HAD "DISMISSED" LATEST  
OJUKWU PROPOSAL FOR PEACE TALKS (REFTEL) AS "MERELY

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PROPAGANDA".

2. STORY FROM REUTERS HERE ACTUALLY MORE THAN THIS NEGATIVE, BARE-BONES COMMENT. FOLLOWING IS ESSENTIAL PART OF STORY: "FEDERAL OFFICIALS SAID HERE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT REPEAT NOT AGREE TO DISCUSS CEASE-FIRE WITH SECESSIONIST BIAFRA BEFORE ACCORD WAS REACHED ON OTHER MAIN CONDITIONS TO END CIVIL WAR.

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8565CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE COMMENTING ON STATEMENT BY OJUKWU THAT CEASE-FIRE SHOULD BE FIRST ITEM ON AGENDA AT ANY MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES, AN OFFICIAL AT EXTAFF MINISTRY SAID THIS WOULD HAVE TO BE LAST ON AGENDA. HE SAID OJUKWU'S STATEMENT CALLING FOR TALKS WITHIN 48 HOURS CONTAINED TERMS THAT APPEARED TO BE STIFFER THAN EVER AND WAS MERELY PROPAGANDA."

3. REUTERS MAN FEELS BBC PUT UNNECESSARILY NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION ON HIS STORY. LATER BBC BROADCAST AT 1300 GMT APRIL 24 SAID ARIKPO HAD SEEN PM WILSON FOR ONE HOUR, THAT WILSON EXPRESSED VIEW THIS IS TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT POSSIBILITY OF ARIKPO MEETING WITH BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES WHO ARE IN LONDON "HAD NOT BEEN RULED OUT".

4. WE NOW HAVE FOLLOW-UP STORIES FROM REUTERS REPRESENTATIVE IN "BIAFRA"(AN IBO) DATEDLINEED ABA APRIL 23, WHICH SAYS OJUKWU "REPEATED EARLIER BIAFRAN CHARGES THAT NIGERIA NOT REPEAT NOT SERIOUS ABOUT

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8565CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NEGOTIATIONS AND MERELY TALKING PEACE TO DELAY RECOGNITION BY MORE COUNTRIES. HE APPEARED RULE OUT IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF MEDIATION BY COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT WHICH HE SAID HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH HIM BUT WITH NEW SETS OF PRECONDITIONS EACH TIME". OJUKWU DIRECTLY QUOTED IN STORY FROM ABA AS SAYING"COMMONWEALTH

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SECRETARIAT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO SHOW IT IS INDEPENDENT OF BRITAIN AFN LAGOS. THIS HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE DIFFICULTY". OJUKWU REPORTEDLY SAID THERE HAD BEEN CONTACTS WITH OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES BUT HE GAVE NO DETAILS. STORY ALSO QUOTES OJUKWU AS SAYING, WHEN ASKED ABOUT REPORTED FMG INSISTENCE THAT BIAFRA RENOUNCE SECESSION BEFORE A CEASE-FIRE, "IT AMOUNTS TO ASKING BIAFRANS TOAST YOURSELF-HAND OVER TO ME BEFORE WE CAN TALK PEACE". OJUKWU REPORTEDLY SAID NO CHANGE "AT THE MOMENT ON BIAFRA'S STAND ON ITS SOVEREIGNTY, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IF TALKS STARTED".

5. COMMENT: EMBASSY AGREES BBC UNDULY NEGATIVE IN

PAGE 5 RUTALS 8565CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MORNING BROADCAST. IT WOULD BE EVEN MORE UNFORTUNATE IF MEDIA OVEREMPHASIZE OJUKWU'S REPORTED COMMENTS FROM ABA SAYING FMG NOT SERIOUS AND "APPARENTLY" RULING OUT COMMONWEALTH SG ROLE AT THIS TIME. IF REUTERS REPORTS FROM "BIAFRA" HAVE ANY VALIDITY, OJUKWU'S TANTALIZING REMARKS SHOULD BE NOTED THAT QUESTION OF "BIAFRAN" SOVEREIGNTY UNCHANGED "AT THE MOMENT", AND THAT "IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE MAKE CONCESSIONS IF TALKS STARTED". NOTHNG OF SUBSTANCE GIVEN AWAY BY THESE REMARKS BUT THEY WOULD SEEM MAKE IT EASIER TO KEEP UP EFFORTS TO ARRANGE TALKS ABOUT TALKS.

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NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, PC 04,

RSR 01 COM 08, NIC 01, /153 W

P R 241220Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 303  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8562

SUBJECT: REPORTED CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN NIGERIAN WAR

1. FBIS ITEM N231630 CARRIES STORY ON "BIAFRAN" RADIO  
APRIL 23 WHICH REPEATED APRIL 24 TO EFFECT CONGRESSMAN  
R.N.C. NIX RPT NIX "TOLD US CONGRESS THAT ESSENTIAL  
INGREDIENTS FOR EFFECTIVE FEDERATION--PROTECTION AND  
PARTICIPATION--ARE NO LONGER IN NIGERIAN POLITICAL  
STRUCTURE."

2. NIX ALSO ALLEGEDLY SAID "MOSLEM LEADERSHIP IN LAGOS  
INDIFFERENT TO NEEDS OF MASSES;" THAT AMERICANS SHOULD

ROUTINE BY USA

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8562CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
NOT "SIT BACK ANY LONGER AND WATCH INNOCENT BIAFRANS BE KILLED  
WITH RUSSIAN PLANES AND BOMBS." STORY CONCLUDES WITH NIX  
REPORTEDLY SAYING "AMERICANS CAN DO SOMETHING TO STOP  
THIS CARNAGE AND SEEK SOLUTION AT CONFERENCE TABLE.  
HE FINALLY URGED HOUSE TO DECLARE ITS SUPPORT FOR  
CEASE-FIRE NOW AND TO SUPPORT JOINT STATEMENT BY  
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
ON CONFLICT."

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By	MARIA Date 10/5/05



*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

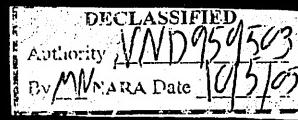
PAGE 02 LAGOS 08562 241606Z

3. SINCE IT QUITE POSSIBLE EMBASSY WILL BE QUERIED  
BY FMG, WE WOULD APPRECIATE TEXT SPEECH BY NIX, IF  
ACTUALLY MADE, AND BACKGROUND INFO ON CIRCUMSTANCES  
AND RELATIONSHIP NIX WITH BIAFRAN REPS IN US.

GP-3. OLSON

CONFIDENTIAL

0894





Pol 27-14 Biapra Nigeria  
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

26  
dgos 8544  
22-68

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 776

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08544 231209Z

45  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 03,H 02,  
INR 07,L 03,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,NSA 02,SAH 03,AID 28,

IO 13,ACDA 16,RSR 01,145 N

O R 231715Z APR 68 ZFF4  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO /SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 294  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
USUN NEW YORK 273  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
CINCSTRIKE CINCMEA/AFSA  
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8544

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE PEACE TALKS OFFER BY OJUKWU

REF: LAGOS 8440, 8387

1. REUTERS FILE HERE CARRIED STORY DATEDLINE ABA  
APRIL 23 SAYING OJUKWU HELD PRESS CONFERENCE APRIL  
22, IN WHICH HE CALLED ON NIGERIA "START PEACE TALKS

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08544 231809Z

IN 48 HOURS IF NIGERIA WAS INTERESTED IN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT." OJUKWU'S REPORTED TERMS WERE THAT "FIRST ITEM ON AGENDA SHOULD BE AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE; THAT DISCUSSIONS SHOULD BE AT MINISTERIAL OR OFFICIAL LEVEL; THAT THEY BE HELD IN AFRICA, AND THAT THERE

BE JOINT NIGERIAN AND BIAFRAN CHARMEN, WITH EACH SIDE EMPLOYING GOOD OFFICES OF AFRICAN HEAD OF STATE." OJUKWU ALSO ALLEGEDLY SAID HE "HAD ALWAYS SHOWN WILLINGNESS

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8544CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
NEGOTIATE WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, BUT PEACE TALKS WITHOUT CEASEFIRE WOULD BE MEANINGLESS."

2. REUTERS REP HERE TELLS US EXTAFF (DEPUTY PERMSEC LEVEL) HAD LITTLE REACTION TO NEWS EXCEPT EXPRESSING SURPRISE; THEY OBVIOUSLY NEED TIME TO DIGEST THIS REPORT. REUTERS HAS ALSO NOTIFIED GOWON'S OFFICE AT DODAN BARRACKS; NO REACTION FROM THERE SO FAR. REUTERS HAS CONFIDENCE IN ITS REPRESENTATIVE IN "BIAFRA."

3. AS OF 1600 LOCAL TIME, SECESSIONIST RADIO HAD NOT CARRIED ANY NEWS OF ALLEGED OJUKWU PRESS CONFERENCE. HOWEVER, LOCAL REUTERS REP SAYS HE HAS "TIP" OJUKWU MAY MAKE MAJOR ADDRESS TONIGHT.

4. EMBASSY HAS NO WAY EVALUATING PROBABLE ACCURACY THIS REPORT. IF REPORT TRUE, IT APPEARS GO SOME DISTANCE TOWARD MEETING ARIKPO'S PRESS CONFERENCE STATEMENT APRIL 18 (LAGOS 8387, PARA 3) THAT "THEY HAVE ONLY TO SUGGEST DATE AND PLACE FOR PEACE TALKS."

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8544CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
ARIKPO ALSO MADE IT CLEAR THAT SUCH PRELIMINARY TALKS WOULD NOT AUTOMATICALLY BRING CEASEFIRE.

DECON 4/23/69 OLSON

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POL 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

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30

SECRET 803:

PAGE 01 LONDON 08264 191956Z

83  
ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 191726Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3079  
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LONDON 8264.

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: EFFECT OF TANZANIAN RECOGNITION ON  
PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: LAGOS 8336; LONDONS 7715; LAGOS 8337 AND 8387

① PAGE TWO RUDTCR 8264 S E C R E T

1. AFTER INITIAL FEAR THAT TANZANIAN RECOGNITION OF "BIAFRA" WOULD END ANY POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE, BRITISH ARE BEGINNING TO TAKE HOPE AGAIN. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE DERIVES SOME COMFORT FROM TONE OF GOWON'S REPLY TO WILSON (REFTEL) AND AWAIT VISIT OF ARIKPO NEXT WEEK (PROBABLY APRIL 23). AS LONG AS FMG AND IBOS DIFFER ON MEANING OF "UNCONDITIONAL" NEGOTIATIONS, BRITISH REALIZE THAT FRUITFUL TALKS ARE MOST UNLIKELY. NEVERTHELESS, THEY ARE RELIEVED THAT FMG'S POSITION DOES NOT SEEM TO HAVE HARDENED AND HOPEFUL THAT BRITISH ADVISE FMG ABOUT NEED TO IMPROVE ITS PUBLIC RELATIONS MAY AT LAST BE TAKING. THEY INTERPRET ARIKPO'S PRESS CONFERENCE (LAGOS 8387) TO BE STEP IN LATTER DIRECTION, BUT REGRET THAT FMG'S APPARENT CONCESSION IN ACCEPTING TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS IS OBSCURED BY HARD-LINE PRESENTATION.

2. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT IS ALSO KEEPING BALL IN PLAY. CS'S ASTON (DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL DIVISION)

SECRET

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By MNARA Date: 10/5/05



Department of State

**TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 08264 191956Z

TELLS US THAT ARNOLD SMITH EXPECTS ARIKPO WHEN IN LONDON  
TO GIVE HIM FMG'S REPLY TO IBOS PROPOSAL FOR UNCONDITIONAL

PAGE THREE RUDTCR 8264 S E C R E T  
TALKS (LONDONS 7715) WHICH CS RECENTLY TRANSMITTED TO  
LAGOS. AT SAME TIME, SMITH HAS ATTEMPTED TO CLARIFY  
AZIKIWE'S PARIS STATEMENT IN TALKS WITH MATTHEW MBU IN  
LONDON LAST WEEK. ACCORDING TO ASTON, SMITH IS THINKING  
IN TERMS OF TWO-PHASE NEGOTIATIONS, OBJECTIVE OF FIRST  
PHASE TO BE CEASE-FIRE WITH SATISFACTORY GUARANTEES AND  
OBJECTIVE OF SECOND TO BE ACTUAL TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.  
ASTON, INCIDENTALLY, FEARS ARIKPO REFERENCES TO CS  
MEDIATION EFFORTS WILL FURTHER COMPLICATE SMITH'S RELATIONS  
WITH IBOS.

BRUCE

SECRET

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By	MN
NARA Date	10/5/05

L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

Screener *RJ*POST London  
SERIAL 5264

(Time Received)

1968 APR 19 PM 11 45

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DISTRIBUTIONMONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

S/S-S /  
S/S-O /  
S/S-Screener 3  
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MilRep  
Summary  
Task Force

Principals

ES ✓ 2  
S  
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SIG  
S/AH  
S/AL  
S/C  
S/CPR  
S/GOV  
S/IL  
S/P ✓ 1  
S/R  
S/FW  
S/PM  
M/WP

G/PM  
G/DP

Geographic

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ARA  
EA  
EUR ✓ 9  
NEA

Functional

CU  
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INR ✓ 6  
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P ✓ 2  
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH ✓ 10  
CIA ✓ 6  
DOD ✓ 1  
USIA ✓ 4  
NSA

Other

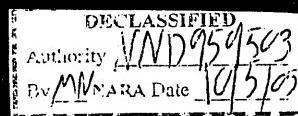
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POL 27-14819 FRA-NIGERIA

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**TELEGRAM**

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10/22/68  
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SECRET 902

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08410 191329Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, SS 20, NSC 10, CIAE 00, GPM 03, INR 07, L 03, NSA E 00, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, /137 W

R 191230Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 221  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
CINCSTRIKE CINCMEA FSA  
UEPJS/DIA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8410

NIGERIAN COMMISSIONER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIKPO WILL  
GO TO LONDON FROM CURRENT MONROVIA CONFERENCE.  
BRITISH HC UNDERSTANDS ARIKPO HAS APPOINTMENTS IN  
LONDON TO SEE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY AT 1715  
APRIL 23 AND PM WILSON AT 1000 APRIL 24. BRITISH  
EXPECT DISCUSS PEACE MOVES IN LIGHT LATEST DEVELOPMENT  
NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR.

GP3: OLSON

MICHAEL J. FEE

(1)

SECRET

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By MNARA Date 10/5/03



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

27

4-1-68  
Lagos 8440

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08440 201259Z

50  
ACTION AF: 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04,  
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /155 W

P R 191730Z APR 68 ZZH  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 240  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
AMCONSUL KADUNA  
USMISSION USUN  
RUEBBEA/CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8440

SUBJECT: "BIAFRAN" STATEMENTS ON PEACE TALKS:

REF: LAGOS 8387

1. SPECIAL GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON RADIO "BIAFRA" AT 2000 GMT APRIL 18 (FBIS ITEM N182040) SAYS "NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT PUBLIC STATEMENT REGARDING ITS WILLINGNESS HOLD PEACE TALKS WAS "MAINLY DESIGNED TO DELAY FURTHER RECOGNITION OF BIAFRA BY OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES." "BIAFRAN" STATEMENT WENT ON TO SAY "IT
- (1)

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Authority VND 950503  
By MM NARA Date 10/5/05



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**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08440 201259Z

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8440CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
SHOULD BE NOTED THAT NIGERIA'S LATEST STATEMENT  
MAINLY REPEATS PRECONDITIONS WHICH IT HAS ALWAYS  
INSISTED ON AS PRELUDE TO NEGOTIATIONS. GOVT OF  
REPUBLIC OF BIAFRA WISHES RESTATE ITS READINESS TO  
START NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS ON EITHER  
SIDE WITHIN 48 HOURS AT A MUTUALLY AGREED VENUE.  
FINALLY GOVT OF BIAFRA WOULD LIKE WORLD TO KNOW  
THAT ALLEGATION THAT IT AVOIDED PREVIOUS PEACE  
TALKS WITH NIGERIA IS NEITHER IN ACCORD WITH THE  
TRUTH NOR WITH SOLEMN UNDERTAKING GIVEN BY BOTH  
PARTIES TO MAINTAIN ABSOLUTE SECRECY ON THE MATTER."

2. SUBSEQUENTLY, IN BROADCAST AT 100 GMT APRIL 19  
(EBIS ITEM N191235) THE SECESSIONIST RADIO SAID:  
"NIGERIAN  
GOVERNMENT HAS REJECTED OFFER OF GOVERNMENT OF BIAFRA  
FOR PEACE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. IN STATEMENT  
YESTERDAY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA INSISTED THAT IT  
WILL NEGOTIATE AFTER BIAFRA HAS RENOUNCED WHAT IS  
CALLED SECESSION AND ACCEPTED 12-STATE STRUCTURE."

3. COMMENT:  
ON FACE OF IT, LEER REBEL BROADCAST  
WOULD SEEM BE MORE NEGATIVE THAN FIRST ON PROSPECTS

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8440CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
FOR INITIATION PEACE TALKS. OFFER TO TALK "WITHIN  
48 HOURS" APPEARS NEW ELEMENT. BUT BY SAYING THAT  
"NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT HAS REJECTED OFFER OF BIAFRA  
FOR PEACE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS." THE "BIAFRANS"  
ARE DISTORTING LATEST FMG POSITION AND PUBLICLY  
ADOPTING LINE WHICH WILL MAKE IT HARDER AGREE ON HOW  
TO SET UP TALKS. UNFORTUNATELY, BOTH SIDES ARE  
DOING SOME POSTURING FOR PUBLIC EFFECT WHICH MAY  
REDUCE SOMEWHAT EFFECTIVENESS OF FMG OFFER IN  
YESTERDAY'S STATEMENT.

DECON 4/19/69 OLSON

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By *MUNARA* Date *10/5/05*



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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**TELEGRAM**

8  
89-1-H-1021  
89-1-H-1021

SECRET 496

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08358 180846Z

17  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

P R 171910Z APR 68 ZZH  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 191  
INFO CINCSTRIKE  
CIA  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE  
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8358

LIMDIS-NOFORN

REF LAGOS DAO 0151 APRIL 68 AND LAGOS 8357 (NOTAL)

1. AS TOTIMI TOLD HALLIGAN, FMG WOULD IF NECESSARY AGAIN TURN TO USSR IF ANOTHER MAJOR POWER PROVIDED SUBSTANTIAL HELP TO QTE BIAFRA UNQTE. THIS IS, HOWEVER, KIND OF CONTINGENCY THINKING TO BE EXPECTED OF ROTIMI IN HIS POSITION AS LOGISTICS COORDINATOR.

2. GOWON'S STATEMENTS TO ME INDICATE THAT HE DOES NOT EXPECT ANY MAJOR POWER TO HELP QTE BIAFRA UNQTE. HENCE, HE UNLIKELY BE ACTIVELY PREPARING FOR CONTINGENCY DISCUSSED BY ROTIMI.

(1) GP-3. MATHEWS

SECRET

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Authority VND 950503  
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

8357

## L I M D I S

~~TOP SECRET~~

Screener

POST L4605

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SERIAL 8358

1968 APR 18 AM 6 00

## DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 576

## Secretariat

## Geographic

## Other

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     Summary  
     Task Force

AF X 5  
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ACDA  
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 AA/NESA

Principals  
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 SIG 1  
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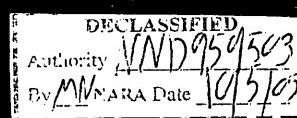
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OTHER AGENCIES  
 WH 10  
 CIA 1  
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 USIA  
 NSA

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64  
POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

47  
SECRET 695

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08337 172122Z

81  
ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 171550Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 182  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA/AFSA  
DIA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8337

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: COMMENT ON GOWON MESSAGE TO PM WILSON

REF: LAGOS 8336

1. REFTEL REPORTED TEXT GOWON'S REPLY TO PM WILSON.  
SEPARATE MESSAGE OF COMMENT FROM ACTING BRITISH  
HC WILLAN (PROTECT SOURCE) FOLLOWS:
2. "ENAHORO SENT FOR ME THIS AFTERNOON TO HAND OVER  
COPY OF GOWON'S REPLY. ORIGINAL WILL BE DELIVERED NEXT  
WEEK BY ARIKPO, WHO WILL TRAVEL STRAIGHT TO LONDON FROM

1  
PAGE 2 RUTALS 8337CC S E C R E T  
MONROVIA.

(A) "I SAID THAT MY IMMEDIATE REACTION WAS THAT WHILE  
PRIME MINISTER WOULD PROBABLY NOT DISPUTE WHAT WAS IN  
THE REPLY, HE MIGHT WELL FEEL IT FAILED TO ANSWER HIS  
MAIN POINT. THIS WAS THE TIME FOR THE FMG TO SHOW  
PUBLICLY WILLINGNESS TO TALK IF THEY WERE TO  
COUNTERACT EFFECT OF BIAFRAN PROPAGANDA. HE

SAID HE QUITE AGREED AND HAD MADE THIS POINT HIMSELF.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08337 172122Z

THE MEA HAD FORCIBLY ARGUED THAT THE FMG MUST PUT THEMSELVES RIGHT WITH WORLD OPINION, BUT HAD BEEN OVER RULED. NIGERIAN POLICY MAKERS, HE SAID, WERE PRE OCCUPIED WITH THE INTERNAL AUDIENCE AND THE ARGUMENT THAT THE TROOPS WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND APPARENT SOFTNESS TOWARDS OJUKWU AT THIS JUNCTURE HAD PREVAILED. HE AND ARIKPO HAD SPENT AN HOUR WITH GOWON THIS MORNING ARGUING THIS POINT AND HAD THOUGHT THEY HAD WON IT, ONLY TO HAVE THE DECISION REVERSED LATER. HOWEVER HE STILL DID NOT DESPAIR OF PERSUADING GOWON TO ISSUE SOME KIND OF STATEMENT TO IMPROVE THE FMG'S EXTERNAL POSITION AND WAS WORKING ON A DRAFT WHICH ARIKPO WOULD TRY AND SELL TO

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8337CC S E C R E T  
GOWON TOMORROW BEFORE LEAVING FOR MONROVIA.

(B) "I SAID IT IS TRUE THAT THE MEA AND CONSIDERATIONS OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS HAVE LITTLE INFLUENCE ON POLICYMAKING."

GP=3o MATHEWS

SECRET

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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L I M D I S

TOP SECRET

POST Lagos  
SERIAL 8337

Screener R08

(Time Received)

123 APR 17 PM 8 12

DISTRIBUTIONMONTHLY COUNT 560Secretariat

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 MilRep \_\_\_\_\_  
 Summary \_\_\_\_\_  
 Task Force \_\_\_\_\_

Principals

ES 2  
 S 2  
 U 2  
 M \_\_\_\_\_  
 G \_\_\_\_\_

SIG 1  
 S/AH \_\_\_\_\_  
 S/AL \_\_\_\_\_  
 S/C \_\_\_\_\_  
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G/PM \_\_\_\_\_  
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Geographic

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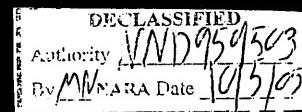
OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10  
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Other

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 LAB \_\_\_\_\_  
 NASA \_\_\_\_\_  
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 628

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08336 172203Z

81  
ACTION ISS 70

INFO 1070 NW

R 171540Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1180  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMCAFSA  
DIA

SECRET LAGOS 08336 SECTION 1 OF 2

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN EGWON MESSAGE TO PM WILSON

REF: LAGOS 8130, 8132; LONDON 7922

1. ENGLISH HITCOM (PROTECT SOURCE) HAS PROVIDED COPY OF EGWON'S REPLY TO LETTER FROM PM WILSON (LAGOS 8130). TEXT EGWON'S LETTER DATED APRIL 16 FOLLOWS:

PAGE 02 FRUML 8336/ICC IS SECRET  
2. "MY DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

I HAVE READ WITH GREAT INTEREST YOUR MESSAGE ON THE NIGERIA SITUATION AND I MUST SAY MY GOVERNMENT AND I ARE REALLY PLEASED ABOUT YOUR PERSONAL INTEREST IN OUR SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. I AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE KIND REMARKS ABOUT OUR HOPES FOR A UNITED NIGERIA.

(A) "FIRST, LET ME CONFIRM MY STRONG CONVICTION THAT IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF ANY OPPORTUNITY WERE LOST TO END THE FIGHTING ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS. I HAVE PROMISED ALL THE PEOPLE OF NIGERIA, AND I MEAN IT, THAT THE MILITARY OPERATIONS WILL NOT CONTINUE FOR AN HOUR LONGER ONCE ACCEPTABLE TERMS FOR ENDING THE REBELLION CAN BE NEGOTIATED.

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(B) "I AM FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT HAVING GONE THIS FAR, THE REBEL LEADERS MIGHT FIND IT DIFFICULT TO RENOUNCE SECESSION PUBLICLY HENCE I HAVE TAKEN EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE ALL AVENUES OPEN TO US TO SEE IF THEY CAN SHOW A READINESS TO DO IT PRIVATELY.

(C) "IN THE LAST THREE WEEKS MY ENVOYS HAVE VISITED NO LESS THAN THREE AFRICAN CAPITALS, FOLLOWING INDICATIONS BY THE

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8336/ICC S E C R E T  
HEADS OF STATE OF THESE COUNTRIES THAT THE REBELS DESIRED PEACE TALKS, ONLY TO DISCOVER THAT THESE PROTESTATIONS OF THE REBELS' DESIRE FOR PEACE TALKS ARE ONLY PART OF THEIR PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN TO WHICH YOU REFERRED IN YOUR MESSAGE.

(D) "I AM SURE YOU HAVE BEEN FULLY BRIEFED ON THE VARIOUS PEACE MOVES THE REBELS LEADERS HAVENIPRNED SO FAR. LT. GEN. ANKRAH DID HIS BEST TO DISSUADE MR. OJUKWU FROM HIS DISASTROUS PATH TO SECESSION. A AN EX-COLLEAGUE AND SENIOR OFFICER IN THE FORMER ROYAL WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE, GENERAL ANKRAH WAS WELL PLACED TO ACT AS A "GO-OUTWEEN", BUT ALL HIS ENTREATIES FAILED TO STOP MR. OJUKWU FROM HIS FUTILE ATTEMPT TO TAKE THE FORMER EASTERN REGION OUT OF THE FEDERATION. ALL ALONG WHILE MY COLLEAGUES AND I WERE WORKING NIGHT AND DAY TO AVOID ARMED CONFLICT, MR. OJUKWU WAS ARMING SECRETLY FOR TOTAL WAR AGAINST US.

(E) "AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES, THE KINSHASA SUMMIT OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE OAU DISCUSSED THE NIGERIAN SITUATION AND SET UP A PEACE

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8336/ICC S E C R E T  
MISSION OF SIX HEADS OF STATE TO EXPLORE WITH US THE POSSIBILITY OF RESTORING PEACE IN NIGERIA. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA COULD HAVE INSISTED ON THE OAU

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SUMMIT NOT DISCUSSING THE NIGERIAN WAR AT ALL IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER OF THE OAU. I FELT, HOWEVER, THAT IF THERE WAS ANYTHING AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT COULD DO TO HELP BRING PEACE ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS, WE SHOULD LET THEM TRY. AFRICAN STATESMEN LIKE HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA, PRESIDENT MAMANI DIORI OF THE REPUBLIC OF NIGER, PRESIDENT AHMADU AHIDJO OF THE CAERMOUN REPUBLIC AND LT GEN ANKRAH OF GHANA CAME TO LAGOS ON THE CONSULTATIVE MISSION AND AFTER FULL DELIBERATIONS, DELEGATED GENERAL ANKRAH TO PASS ON THEIR FINDINGS TO MR. OJUKWU. THE MESSAGE WAS CLEAR EVEN FROM THE MANDATE OF THE KINSHASA SUMMIT RESOLUTION. AFRICAN CONDEMNED THE ATTEMPTED BREAK-UP OF NIGERIA AND GENERAL ANKRAH WAS TO TRY, THIS TIME ON BEHALF OF THE OAU, TO PERSUADE MR. OJUKWU TO GIVE UP SECESSION AND ACCEPT THE NEW POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE MINIMUM OF TWELVE STATES.

(F) "GENERAL ANKRAH HAS INFORMED ME THAT THE REBEL LEADER

PAGE 5 RUTALS 8336/ICC S E C R E T  
HAS REFUSED TO TALK TO HIM ON THE DIRECT RADIO LINK WHICH WITH MY CONSENT THE GENERAL MAINTAINS WITH HIM. THE GENERAL AND I HAD THOUGHT THAT BY MAINTAINING THE RADIO LINK, MR. OJUKWU WOULD HAVE AT HIS DISPOSAL AN EASY MEANS OF CONTACTING GENERAL ANKRAH ANYTIME HE WAS READY FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT.

(G) "THE OAU PEACEWSITIATIVE WAS NOT THE ONLY ONE. I EXEPCIT THAT YOU HAVE BEEN BRIEFED ON THE EFFORTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT. MR. ARNOLD SMITH MAY HAVE TOLD YOU OF HIS DIFFICULTIES IN CLARIFYING THE POSITION OF MR. OJUKWU'S DELEGATES ON THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION OF PRESERVING A UNITED NIGERIA. WHEN HE WAS IN LAGOS LAST FEBRUARY, MR. SMITH THOUGHT THERE WAS A RAY OF HOPE. THE REBEL LEADERS MUST HAVE CHANGED THEIR MINDS VERY QUICKLY THEREAFTER BECAUSE IN SPITE OF MY READINESS TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO LONDON FOR TALKS, MR. SMITH HAS APPARENTLY NOT OBTAINED SUFFICIENT CLARIFICATION FROM THE REBEL SIDE TO ENABLE THE TALKS TO BE ARRANGED AS EARLY AS WE HAD HOPED.

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PAGE 04 LAGOS 08336 172033Z

(H) "I HAVE GONE OVER THIS FAMILIAR GROUND TO SHOW THAT I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN READY TO TALK PEACE. YOU PROBABLY

PAGE 6 RUTALS 8336/1CC S E C R E T  
KNOW THAT TO DEMONSTRATE MY READINESS JGR PEACE TALKS  
I LISTED IN A BROADCAST TO THE NATION ON THE 5TH OF  
JANUARY LAST A NUMBER OF PROMINENT IBO LEADERS WITH WHOM  
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE. DR.  
AZIKIWE'S WAS ONE OF THE NINETEEN NAMES. I AM THEREFORE  
MOST INTERESTED IN HIS PARIS CALL FOR PEACE TALKS WITHOUT  
PRE-CONDITIONS. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS READY TO TEST  
ITS GENUINENESS ESPECIALLY IF IT IS A CALL FOR TALKS WITHOUT  
"PRE-CONCESSION".

(I) "I AM TOLD THAT WHEN THE REBEL RADIO CARRIED  
DR. AZIKIWE'S APPEAL, IT REPORTED THAT DR. AZIDIWE ALSO  
CALLED FOR SOME PRECONCESSIONS FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,  
NAMELY THAT IT SHOULD FIRST OFFER THE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS  
AGAINST REBEL HELD AREAS IN THE EAST, STOP ALL MILITARY  
OPERATIONS AND LIFT WHAT THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT  
REFERRED TO AS THE DIPLOMATIC BLOCKADE AND ISOLATION OF  
THE REBEL REGIME. THIS IS QUITE REVEALING, JUDGING FROM  
THE PAST PERFORMANCES OF MR. OJUKWU BUT I ASSURE YOU THAT  
I WILL NOT BE DETERRED BY RADIO STATEMENTS FROM FOLLOWING  
ANY TRAIL WHICH MAY LEAD TO LASTING PEACE IN NIGERIA.

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81  
ACTION SS 7A

INFO 1070 W

R 171540Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 181  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
DIA

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 8336

(J) "AS A MATTER OF FACT, AS SOON AS DR. AZIKIWE'S AFRICAN TOUR WAS BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND LONG BEFORE HE WENT TO PARIS, TWO AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE GOT IN TOUCH WITH ME AND I READILY ACCEPTED THEIR OFFER TO EXPLORE WITH DR. AZIKIWE THE POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF A UNITED NIGERIA. IT WAS IN THE MIDST OF SUCH PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL CONTACT THAT DR. AZIKIWE MADE HIS PUBLIC APPEAL IN PARIS. HE WAS PROBABLY ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM MR. OJUKWU. THE REAL DIFFICULTY I SEE IS WHETHER A RESPECTED MAN

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8336/2CC S E C R E T  
LIKE DR. AZIKIWE WILL BE GIVEN SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO NEOGITATE PEACE INVOLVING A UNITED NIGERIA. I AM NEVERTHELESS WILLING TO TRY.

(K) "I SHOULD LIKE TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO THANK YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE FOR THE DEEP CONCERN AND SYMPATHY SHOWN OVER OUR CRISIS. I AGREE THAT YOU HAVE NEVER WAVERED IN YOUR SUPPORT OF THE CAUSE OF MY GOVERNMENT, ALTHOUGH SPEAKING AS A TRUE FRIEND OF BRITAIN, I AND MY COLLEAGUES HAD SOME DOUBTS AND ANXIOUS MOMENTS CREATED BY ONE OR TWO OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN FROM YOUR GOVERNMENT AT THE OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES.

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*Department of State* **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08336 02 OF 02 171957Z

(1) "ONCE AGAIN, I MUST SAY HOW MUCH WE APPRECIATE YOUR KIND MESSAGE AND REITERATE OUR DETERMINATION AND READINESS TO FOLLOW UP DR. ABOKIWE'S AND SIMILAR CALLS FOR PEACE TALKS. WE ARE READY TO USE ANY ACCEPTABLE CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION: THE OAU CONSULTATIVE MISSION, THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT AND THE GOOD OFFICES OF STATESMEN LIKE PRESIDENT SENGHOR OF SENEGAL. REPRESENTATIVES OF MY GOVERNMENT WILL TALK TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE REBEL REGIME WHENEVER THEY ARE READY FOR GENUINE PEACE TALKS.

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8336/2CC S E C R E T  
(M) "I HAD INTENDED THAT MY COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, DR. OKOI ARIKPO, SHOULD DELIVER THIS LETTER TO YOU IN PERSON AND EXPLAIN TO YOU THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON THE NIGERIAN SCENE AND OUR HOPES FOR LASTING PEACE IN THIS PART OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT. I HOPE YOU WILL STILL BE ABLE TO RECEIVE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS.

(N) "WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE GOAL OF A UNITED NIGERIA WILL BE ACHIEVED. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT THE PHYSICAL SAFETY OF THE IBOS AND EQUAL ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES FOR THEM, AS FOR ALL CITIZENS, WILL BE GUARANTEED IN THE UNITED NIGERIA.

YOURS VERY SINCERELY, GOWON."

GP-3. MATHEWS

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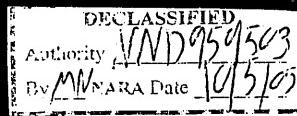
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PAGE 1  
LAGOS 8357

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08357 180833Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

P 171905Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 190  
INFO CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFS A PRIORITY  
DOD  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAMZ  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMCONSUL IBADAN  
/AMCONSUL KADUNA 2339

S E C R E T LAGOS 8357

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF HEAD FMG GOWON

1. FOLLOWING MAJOR POINTS EMERGED IN CONVERSATION THIS AFTERNOON WITH GOWON AND COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ARIKPO.
2. PEACE TALKS. GOWON STATED THAT TANZANIAN RECOGNITION QTE BIAFRA UNQTE AND POSSIBILITY RECOGNITION BY OTHER AFRICAN STATES DO NOT RPT ALTER FMG POSITION ON PEACE TALKS WITH REBELS. FMG PREPARED TALK ANY TIME ON BASIS ITS STANDRAD TWO CONDITIONS BUT DOES NOT REQUIRE REBELS

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8357CC S E C R E T  
PUBLICLY TO ACCEPT CONDITIONS BEFORE TALKS BEGIN. (DEPT WILL NOTE THIS DIRECTLY CONTRADICTS IYALLA COMMENTS REPORTED IN STATE 147100.) IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, FMG WOULD NOT ACCEPT CEASE-FIRE AS CONDITION FOR TALKS. ARIKPO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT REBEL SIDE WOULD PROBABLY NOW BE EVEN LESS INCLINED THAN IN PAST TO EMBARK ON TALKS.

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3° MILITARY SITUATION. GOWON CONFIDENT THAT UNLESS SOME MAJOR POWER--I.E. FRANCE OR AS REMOTE POSSIBILITY COMMUNIST CHINA--DELIVERS SUBSTANTIAL MILITARY MATERIAL TO REBELS, FMG WILL DEFEAT REBELS. ALTHOUGH REBELS CAN MOUNT SPOILING RAIDS, FMG CONTROLS HIGHWAY FROM ONITSHA TO OGOJA AND EAST CENTRAL STATE NORTH OF HIGHWAY. FMG SIMILARLY CONTROLS SOUTH-EASTERN STATE. FOLLOWING CAPTURE OF AROCHUKU, ADEKUNLE, COMMANDER SOUTH-EAST FRONT, HAS BEEN ORDERED TO ESTABLISH BLOCKING POSITIONS ON APPROACHES TO ABA AND UMAHIA. CLEARANCE OF RIVERS STATE AND CAPTURE OR ISOLATION PORT HARCOURT ARE NEXT OBJECTIVES. ONCE ALL THESE OBJECTIVES ACHIEVED, FMG INTENDS QTE HOLD RING UNQTE AROUND REMAINING REBEL TERRITORY AND AWAIT DEVELOPMENTS.

4° CONSEQUENCES OF RECOGNITION OF QTE BIAFRA UNQTE. GOWON

PAGE B RUTALS 8357CC S E C R E T  
ACCEPTS THAT RECOGNITION BY TANZANIA AND POSSIBLY OTHER AFRICAN STATES--HE AND ARIKPO CONSIDER IVORY COAST AND SENEGAL MOST LIKELY TO RECOGNIZE--WILL CREATE POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND PRESSURES FOR FMG. HE DOES NOT INTEND TO BE SWAYED BY THESE. I SAID THAT IN THIS NEW SITUATION FMG SHOULD REITERATE AND AMPLIFY ITS ASSURANCES THAT IT INTENDS TO REHABILITATE IBOS AND REINTEGRATE THEM IN NIGERIA SOCIETY. GOWON AND ARIKPO AGREED. GOWON DOES NOT CONSIDER AFRICAN RECOGNITIONS OF MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE UNLESS ONE OF NIGERIA'S NEIGHBORS SHOULD RECOGNIZE WHICH HE BELIEVES HIGHLY UNLIKELY. HE DOUBTS THAT ANY MAJOR POWER WILL RECOGNIZE ALTHOUGH HE IS UNEASY ABOUT FRANCE. I COMMENTED THAT FMG SHOULD TAKE CARE TO AVOID PROVOKING FRANCE--E.G. BY PERMITTING DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST FRENCH EMBASSY--AND GOWON AND ARIKPO HEARTILY CONCURRED.

5° CONTE-LONG AMENDMENT. I EXPLAINED PROBLEMS POSED BY AMENDMENT AND EMPHASIZED USG WANTED IF POSSIBLE AVOID APPLICATION TO NIGERIA. GOWON SAID HE NOW APPRECIATED THIS ALTHOUGH INITIAL REPORT FROM IALLA HAD CAUSED MUCH CONCERN. HE SAID FMG WOULD REVIEW HISTORY OF IL-28

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PAGE 4 RUTALS 8357CC S E C R E T  
TRANSACTION TO DETERMINE WHEN FMG COMMITTED ITSELF TO PURCHASE.

8. US-NIGERIAN RELATIONS. GOWON CONSIDERS PAST MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN US AND NIGERIA NOW OVERCOME. FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS HE WOULD WELCOME SALE BY USG OF AMMUNITION AND PARTS FOR 106MM RECOILLESS RIFLES, BUT HE WOULD NOT PRESS FOR THIS. HE DOES LOOK TO USG FOR HELP WHEN WAR IS OVER AND NIGERIA FACES GREAT TASK OF RECONSTRUCTION. HE REMARKED WITH FEELING THAT QTE PEACE FRONT UNQTE WOULD BE MORE DIFFICULT THAN WAR FRONT.

HE SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED HOPE FOR US ASSISTANCE IN DEMOBILIZATION PROBLEMS AND RESTORATION OF TRANSPORT FACILITIES--ROADS, BRIDGES AND PORTS. I RESPONDED THAT USG VERY MUCH AWARE OF NIGERIA'S RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS AND WANTED TO HELP. WE HAD OUR OWN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS, HOWEVER, AND DID NOT KNOW WHAT FUNDS CONGRESS WOULD MAKE AVAILABLE FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. I SAID WE WOULD DO WHAT WE COULD.

7. OAU. ARKPO REMARKED THAT QTE BIAFRAN UNQTE RECOGNITION ISSUE WOULD PROBABLY THROW OAU INTO RENEWED DISARRAY.

PAGE 5 RUTALS 8357CC S E C R E T

8. GOWON. HE WAS RELAXED AND UNUSUALLY ARTICULATE DESPITE HAVING JUST COMPLETED SIX-HOUR SESSION WITH EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. WHILE DISAPPOINTED AND SOMEWHAT BITTER AT TANZANIAN AND PROBABLY OTHER AFRICAN RECOGNITIONS OF QTE BIAFRA UNQTE, HE DOES NOT SEEM GREATLY CONCERNED BY THIS DEVELOPMENT. HE WAS MORE CONFIDENT ABOUT MILITARY SITUATION THAN I HAVE EVER FOUND HIM BEFORE.

GP=3. MATHEWS

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Lagos 8250  
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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00.

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, RSR 01.

/139 W

P R 111625Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0133.  
INFO CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA/AFSA  
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RIESDA/AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 4321  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 424  
AMCONSUL IBADAN 1729  
AMCONSUL KADUNA 2326  
AMEMBASSY LPIBON 110  
AMEMBASSY LOME 424  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2204  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 056  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 838

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 8250

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ON PEACE TALKS:  
AND PORTUGUESE

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8250CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
REF: LAGOS 7656

1. WHEN I ASKED ARIKPO THIS MORNING ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR PEACETALKS WITH REBELS, HE REPLIED HE WAS DISCOURAGED. QUAKER INITIATIVE WHICH HAD GIVEN HIM HOPE THREE WEEKS AGO (PARAGRAPH 3, REFTEL) HAD COME TO DEAD END. CURLE HAD NOT RESPONDED TO HIS LATEST APPROACHES.

2. ARIKPO SAID THIS WAS TYPICAL OF OJUKWU'S RECENT TACTICS. OJUKWU WOULD APPROACH INTERMEDIARY WHO WOULD

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08250 111817Z

ELICIT RESPONSE FROM FMG WHICH OJUKWU WOULD THEN IGNORE. THIS HAD HAPPENED TO ARNOLD SMITH, LORD BRMVNWAY, MALLIOLI AND MOST RECENTLY SENGHOR. ARIKPO IS PREPARED TO GO NEXT WEEK TO LONDON TO SEE BROCKWAY OR MALLIOLI OR TO DAKAR TO SEE SENGHOR IF ANY OF THEM SHOULD RECEIVE USEFUL MESSAGE FROM OJUKWU BUT HE DOUBTS THIS WILL HAPPEN.

3. FMG BELIEVES OJUKWU IS NOW TRYING THROUGH AZIKIWE TO PERSUADE DE GAULLE TO ACT AS INTERMEDIARY OR MEDIATOR. FMG

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8250CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
UNDERSTANDS DE GAULLE IS ASKING HEADS OF FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN STATES FOR THEIR VIEWS AS TO ADVISABILITY HIS UNDERTAKING THIS ROLE. ARIKPO WAS OBVIOUSLY NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THIS POSSIBILITY.

4. IN RESPONSE MY QUERIES RE PORTUGUESE ACTIVITIES, ARIKPO SAID FMG HAD RECENTLY SENT EMISSARY TO LISBON. PORTUGUESE TOLD EMISSARY THAT AIRPLANES FROM LISBON TO QTE BIAFRA UNQUOTE WERE NOW PERMITTED TO CARRY ONLY PASSENGERS AND CIVILIAN SUPPLIES, NOT MILITARY SUPPLIES, AND THAT QTE BIAFRAN UNQUOTE OFFICE IN LISBON HAD BEEN FORBIDDEN TO ISSUE PUBLIC STATEMENTS. FMG IS VERY SKEPTICAL ABOUT ALLEGED RESTRICTIONS ON AIRLIFT BUT BELIEVES PORTUGUESE MAY HAVE CURTAILED ACTIVITIES QTE BIAFRAN UNQUOTE OFFICE. FMG UNDERSTANDS STAFF OF OFFICE NOW REDUCED TO TWO REBELS. FMG HAS ALSO HEARD THAT GOVERNOR AND PEOPLE OF SAO TOME ARE VERY UNEASY ABOUT INCREASED ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF REBELS THERE AND THAT GOVERNOR HAS PROTESTED TO LISBON.

5. ARIKPO COMMENTED THAT PORTUGUESE WOULD PRESUMABLY

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8250CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
CLOSE DOWN MOST IF NOT ALL REBEL ACTIVITY ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORY IF FMG WOULD SEND RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE TO LISBON. FMG HAD CONSIDERED THIS BUT DECIDED AGAINST IT. ARIKPO SAID FMG EXPECTED DRastically REDUCE EFFECTIVENESS OF AIRLIFT IN VERY NEAR FUTURE BY DENYING USE OF PORT

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 08250 111817Z

HARCOURT AIRFIELD TO REBELS. REBELS MIGHT STILL BE ABLE USE THREE MAKESHIFT AIR STRIPS ON HIGHWAY NEAR ULI, ORLU AND OWERRI, BUT THESE STRIPS WOULD TAKE ONLY TWO ENGINE AIRCRAFT.  
GP-3. MATHEWS.

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 531

PAGE 01 LAGOS 08207 101706Z

41  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, E 15, INT 06, / 116 W

R 101630Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 110  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS 837

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 8207

SUBJECT: FRENCH OIL COMPANIES AND BIAFRA

REF: LAGOS 7979

1) FOR FIRST TIME, TO OUR KNOWLEDGE, FRENCH COMPANY SAFRAP HAS PUBLICLY DENIED RECENT ALLEGATIONS THAT COMPANY IS NEGOTIATING WITH BIAFRANS. CHIEF DAVIES, A NIGERIAN DIRECTOR OF THE COMPANY, ISSUED PUBLIC STATEMENT APRIL 9 LABELING REPORTED OIL DEAL BETWEEN HIS COMPANY AND REBELS (REFTEL) AS "TENDENTIOUS AND UNPLEASANT RUMOR". DAVIES SAID

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8207CC C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM PARIS WHERE HE MET WITH DIRECTORS OF SAFRAP. DIRECTORS REPORTEDLY AGREED WITH HIM THAT ANY FORM OF NEGOTIATION BETWEEN FMG AND REBELS WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION UNLESS LATTER RENOUNCED SECESSION. EXECUTIVES OF TOTAL (FRENCH MARKETING INTEREST HERE) WERE SAID TO HAVE SAME SENTIMENT.

2) DAVIES STATED THAT WAR IS NEARLY OVER, VICTORY OF FMG IS ASSURED AND ANY "OIL DEAL" WITH REBELS THEREFORE LACKS COMMON SENSE. HE THOUGHT "CERTAIN PEOPLE START ALL THESE TENDENTIOUS RUMORS WITHOUT CAREFULLY THINKING ABOUT THE IMPLICATIONS".

EXEMPT. MATHEWS

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08155 091356Z

40  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, PC 15, SR 01.

ORM 03, RSR 01, /158 W

R 091225Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0087  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 835  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 545  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1686  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 431  
AMEMBASSY DAR AE SALAAM 134  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 621  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2198  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 780  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 955  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 107  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1088

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 8155

SUBJ: "BIAFRAN" REPRESENTATIVES AZIKIWE AND DIKEI

REFCODED BY 658

PAGE 2. RUTALS 8155CC CONFIDENTIAL

REF: LAGOS 7979

1. DAILY TIMES APRIL 9 SAYS THAT OVER WEEKEND AZIKIWE FLEW INTO PARIS TRAVELING ON TANZANIA PASSPORT TO CONDUCT FINANCIAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH SAFRAP (FRENCH COMPANY WITH OIL CONCESSIONS IN EASTERN NIGERIA). REGISTERED AT PARIS HOTEL IN NAME OF "OGBUEFI," IBO WORD FOR "CHIEF." MORNING POST STORY ADDS THAT NAME USED ON PASSPORT IS ALSO "OGBUEFI" AND SAYS: NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS TRIED UNSUCCESSFULLY TO

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08155 091356Z

REACH ZIK AT HOTEL, THAT ON ONE OCCASION DR. KENNETH DIKE ANSWERED TELEPHONE BUT SAID ZIK NOT AROUND. EMBASSY AND USIS OFFICERS BELIEVE STORY ORIGINATED IN DELIBERATE LEAK FROM MINEXTAFF.

2. ON APRIL 5 EDWIN OGBU, NIGERIA'S NEW AMBASSADOR TO UN AND OUTGOING PERMSEC EXTAFF, TOLD AMBASSADOR THERE HAD NOT BEEN ANY RECENT SIGNIFICANT MOVES TOWARD PEACE TALKS BECAUSE REBELS NOT THUS FAR PREPARED ACCEPT

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8155CC C O N F I D E N T I A  
FMG'S TWO BASIC CONDITIONS (RENOUNCE SECESSION AND ACCEPT 12-STATE FEDERATION). OGBU SAID THAT WHEN HE ACCCOMPANIED ADMIRAL WEY TO GHANA APRIL 1 THEY FOUND GENERAL ANKRAH CONSIDERABLY DISENCHANTED WITH "BIAFRANS." ANKRAH TOLD THEM HE HAD RECORD OF HIS RECENT TALK WITH DR. KENNETH DIKE PREPARED AND SUBMITTED TO DIKE FOR APPROVAL. DIKE DELETED FROM RECORD EVERY COMMENT HE HAD MADE WHICH HAD INDICATED THERE MIGHT BE SOME GIVE IN REBELS' POSITION. IN LIGHT THIS EXPERIENCE ANKRAH WONDERED WHETHER ANY USEFUL PURPOSE SERVED BY TALKING WITH WANDERING "BIAFRAN" REPS.

GP-3

MATHEWS

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POL 37-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08131 090817Z

19  
ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 081600Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0074  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON 2193  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 832  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA FSA  
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S E C R E T LAGOS 8131

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: PM WILSON'S MESSAGE TO GENERAL GOWON

REF: LAGOS 81326

1. TEXT OF MESSAGE FROM PRIME MINISTER WILSON  
DELIVERED TO GENERAL GOWON, HEAD OF NIGERIAN FMG,  
APRIL 6 FOLLOWS:

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8131CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS

2. "THERE HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE INTEREST AROUSED IN THIS COUNTRY BY A STATEMENT MADE BY DR. AZIKIWE IN PARIS ON 3 APRIL TO THE EFFECT THAT THE AUTHORITIES IN "BIAFRA" WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS A PEACE SETTLEMENT WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. HAVE ALSO SEEN A LETTER WHICH LORD BROCKWAY HAS HAD FROM MR. OJUKWU DECLARING THAT HE WOULD BE READY TO ACCEPT IMMEDIATELY A CEASEFIRE FOLLOWED BY UNCONDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS.

3. "I THINK I SHOULD LET YOU KNOW FRANKLY THAT THE FRIENDS OF NIGERIA FEEL THAT AN EFFORT SHOULD NOW BE MADE TO TEST THE SINCERITY OF "BIAFRAN" READINESS TO

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 08131 090817Z

NEGOTIATE. I AM ENCOURAGED TO DO THIS BECAUSE I AM SURE THAT YOU FEEL THA IT WOULD BE TRAGIC IF ANY OPPORTUNITY WERE LOST TO END THE FIGHTING IN NIGERIA ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS. I KNOW TOO HOW KEENLY YOU WISH TO AVOID A SITUATION IN WHICH ORGANISED RESISTANCE ON THE "BIAFRAN" SIDE MIGHT COLLAPSE AND, IN THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED SETTLEMENT, DEGENERATE INTO GUERRILLA WARFARE WHICH MIGHT TAKE A VERY LONG TIME TO

PAGE 3 RUTAD 8131CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS

ERADICATE AND LEAD TO MUCH FURTHER BLOODSHED AND SUFFERING. I SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT I AM NOT ATTEMPTING TO SUGGEST TO THE F.M.G. THE NATURE OF ANY SETTLEMENT THEY MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT. THIS IS ENTIRELY FOR THE NIGERIANS THEMSELVES TO SAY, AND I KNOW THAT YOU HAVE FREQUENTLY DECLARED YOUR WILLINGNESS TO GUARANTEE IBO SECURITY AND THEIR FUTURE PLACE IN NIGERIA. BUT THE "BIAFRANS" HAVE CONDUCTED-AND ARE CONDUCTING-A VERY ASTUTE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN, AND I AM CONCERNED LEST THE F.M.G. SHOULD FIND ITSELF IN A POSITION WHERE IT HAS APPARENTLY FAILED TO TAKE AN OPPORTUNITY OF EXPLORING WAYS IN WHICH THE WAR COULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END. IF THAT APPEARED TO BE THE CASE, I FEAR THAT WE SHOULD FIND, NOT ONLY IN THIS COUNTRY BUT ALSO, IF MY INFORMATION IS CORRECT, IN MANY COUNTRIES IN AFRICA AND ELSEWHERE, A LESSENING OF PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE F.M.G. IN THE STRUGGLE IT IS WAGING TO PRESERVE A UNITED NIGERIA.

4. "YOU KNOW THE ATTITUDE OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. WE FULLY SUPPORT YOU IN YOUR AIM TO PRESERVE A UNITED

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8131CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS  
NIGERIA, AND I THINK WE CAN FAIRLY CLAIM THAT WE HAVE NOT WAVERED IN THIS SUPPORT THROUGHOUT THE CIVIL WAR WHICH I KNOW YOU DEPLORE, AS WE DO. NOR AM I SUGGESTING THAT YOU SHOULD IN ANY WAY RELAX YOUR EFFORTS TO THIS END. BUT TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS WOULD EQUALLY BE TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONCESSIONS.

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THE F.M.G. IS NOW IN A POSITION OF GREAT MILITARY STRENGTH AND IS WITHIN FORESEEABLE DISTANCE OF COMPLETELY DEFEATING THE "BIAFRAN" FORCES. IT SEEMS TO ME, THEREFORE, THAT YOU COULD WELL AFFORD, AND WOULD WIN MUCH SYMPATHY IF YOU WERE ABLE, TO RESPOND TO THE STATEMENT OF DR. AZIKIWE AT ITS FACE VALUE, AND TO OFFER TO SEND REPRESENTATIVES TO MEET MR. OJUKWU'S DELEGATES WITHOUT CONDITIONS TO DISCUSS AN END TO THE FIGHTING. (I DO NOT URGE YOU TO ACCEPT A CEASE-FIRE BEFORE EACH (SUCH?) TALKS, FOR I REALISE THAT THIS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO YOU). BUT DR. AZIKIWE'S PROPOSAL HAS RECEIVED WIDE PUBLICITY AND TO RESPOND TO IT WOULD, I THINK, PUT THE F.M.G. IN A VERY STRONG POSITION IN WORLD OPINION, AND, MORE IMPORTANT, MIGHT LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT ON TERMS WHICH YOU COULD ACCEPT. I EARNESTLY SUGGEST TO YOU THAT THIS

PAGE 5 RUTALS 8131CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS  
IS AN OPPORTUNITY NOT TO BE LOST. THE "BIAFRANS" MAY WELL NOT BE ABLE TO BRING THEMSELVES PUBLICLY TO ACCEPT THE END OF SECESSION AND THE SETTING UP OF THE TWELVE STATES BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT THAT SURELY DOES NOT MEAN THAT THEY COULD NOT BE BROUGHT TO DO SO IN THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS.

5. "IF YOU WERE TO RESPOND TO DR. AZIKIWE'S PROPOSAL IN THE WAY I HAVE SUGGESTED, AND THE "BIAFRANS" THEN ATTEMPTED TO CHANGE THEIR TACK, EVEN SO I BELIEVE THAT YOUR POSITION WOULD HAVE BEEN MUCH STRENGTHENED. YOU WOULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED YOUR WILLINGNESS TO EXPLORE WAYS OF BRINGING THE FIGHTING TO AN END, AND HAVE TAKEN THE WIND OUT OF THE SAIL OF MUCH OF THE "BIAFRAN" PROPAGANDA."

6. "I AM SURE THAT YOU WILL NOT MIND MY PUTTING MY VIEWS TO YOU SO FRANKLY. I VENTURE TO DO SO BECAUSE I KNOW HOW DEEPLY YOU, AS A NIGERIAN PATRIOT, DEPLORE THE PRESENT DIVERSION OF YOUR GREAT COUNTRY. I KNOW

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PAGE 6 RUTALS 8131CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS  
TOO WHAT ASPIRATIONS YOU HAVE FOR NIGERIA'S FUTURE.  
PERHAPS IN VIEWING THE SITUATION WITH GREAT CONCERN, BUT  
FROM A DISTANCE, I AM IN A GOOD POSITION TO SEE WHAT  
I BELIEVE IS A CHANCE AT BEST TO END THE WAR AND AT  
WORST TO DEMONSTRATE TO THE WORLD YOUR DETERMINATION  
TO SEIZE ANY OPPORTUNITY OF DOING SO. I AM CONFIDENT  
THAT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND THAT I SEND THIS MESSAGE AS A  
TRUE FRIEND OF NIGERIA AND OUT OF MY CONCERN FOR NIGERIA'S  
FUTURE PEACE, PROSPERITY AND UNITY. WITH WARMEST REGARDS".

GP-3  
MATHEWS

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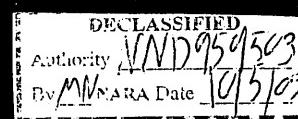
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POL 27-14 BIAFFRA -  
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**TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 08132 090753Z

14  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

R 081600Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0075  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON 2194  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 833  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA  
DIA

S E C R E T LAGOS 8132

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: PM WILSON'S MESSAGE TO GOWON

REF: LAGOS 8131

RECORDED BY 141414Z APR 68  
1. BRITISH ACTING HICOMER WILLAN DELEVERED MESSAGE FROM  
PRIME MINISTER WILSON TO GENERAL GOWON EVENING APRIL 6.  
MESSAGE URGES THAT NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AGREE TO DISCUSS

PAGE 2 RUTALS 8132CC S: E C R E T/LIMDIS-NOFORN  
A PEACE SETTLEMENT WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS ON BASIS OF  
AZIKIWE'S STATEMENT IN PARIS ON APRIL 3 THAT "BIAFFRA"  
WOULD BE PREPARED DO SO. ACTING HICOMER WAS INSTRUCTED  
THAT WILSON'S MESSAGE WAS QUITE SEARATE FROM AND SHOULD  
NOT BE CONNECTED WITH ARNOLD SMITH'S ACTIVITIES IN ANY WAY.  
THEREFORE WILLAN WAS TOLD NOT TO ADMIT KNOWLEDGE OF  
SMITH'S MESSAGE TO FMG THAT HE HAD RECEIVED ASSURANCES  
FROM BIAFRANS THAT THEY WOULD TALK WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS.  
PURPOSE OF WILSON'S MESSAGE IS TO PERSUADE GOWON ALSO OF  
DESIRABILITY FMG MAKING PUBLIC THEIR WILLINGNESS  
TO TALK WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. WILLAN WAS AUTHORIZED  
POINTOUT TO GOWON THAT AZIKIWE'S STATEMENT WAS PROMINENTLY  
FEATURED IN RADIO BIAFFRA BROADCASTS WHICH SUGGESTS THAT  
OJUKWU ENDORSES STATEMENT.

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2. ACTING HICOMER WILLAN (PROTECT SOURCE) REPORTED ON HIS TALK WITH GOWON AS FOLLOWS:

3. "I HAD FORTY-FIVE MINUTES WITH GOWON THIS EVENING AND DELIVERED MESSAGE. HE READ IT CAREFULLY AND EXPRESSED

PAGE 3 RUTALS 8132CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS-NOFORN  
HIS WARM APPRECIATION OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S MOTIVES IN SENDING IT. HE WOULD STUDY IT AND DISCUSS IT WITH HIS ADVISERS AND WITH HIS COUNCIL, AND WOULD THEREFORE BE UNABLE TO REPLY BEFORE NEXT WEEK.

4. "IN DISCUSSION HE EXPRESSED SOME DISTRUST OF LORD BROCKWAY AND CONSIDERABLE SCEPTICISM ABOUT THE MOTIVES OF OJUKWU, WHO WAS A GREAT JUGGLER WITH WORDS. OF COURSE OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT A CEASE FIRE, BUT WHAT DID HIS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT UNCONDITIONAL DISCUSSIONS REALLY MEAN? HE HIMSELF NEEDED TO BE MORE CONVINCINGLY PERSUADED OF OJUKWU'S SINCERITY AND WILLINGNESS TO RENOUNCE SECESSION. THE FMG COULD NOT POSSIBLY THROW AWAY THEIR BASIC CONDITIONS NOW. HE DID NOT WANT TO GO ON FIGHTING A MINUTE LONGER THAN NECESSARY BUT THE COUNTRY WOULD NEVER FORGIVE HIM IF HE LET OJUKWU GET AWAY WITH IT AND FAILED TO SECURE A LASTING SETTLEMENT.

5. "I DOUBT IF I WAS ABLE TO CONVINCE HIM THAT THE

PAGE 4 RUTALS 8132CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS-NOFORN  
FMG HAD NOTHING TO LOSE BY AGREEING TO TALK AND COULD DO SO WITHOUT PRE-CONCESSIONS, OR THAT IT WOULD BE NORMAL FOR THE BIAFRANS TO ASK INITIALLY FOR MORE THAN THEY COULD HOPE TO GET, AND NOT REVEAL IN ADVANCE WHAT CONCESSIONS THEY MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO MAKE. HE IS OBVIOUSLY TOO STRAIGHTFORWARD HIMSELF TO RELISH THE PROSPECT OF BARGAINING; IT WAS NOT A MATTER FOR DIPLOMACY OR PLAYING WITH WORDS HE SAID, BUT FOR HONESTY AND

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STRAIGHTFORWARDNESS OF PURPOSE. HE REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO HIS EXPERIENCES AT ABURI AND REVEALED CLEARLY HIS ANXIETY NOT TO BE TRICKED AGAIN. HE SAID HOWEVER THAT THESE WERE ONLY HIS FRANK IMMEDIATE AND PERSONAL REACTIONS; HIS OFFICIAL REPLY WOULD BE MORE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED".

GROUP 3.  
MATHEWS

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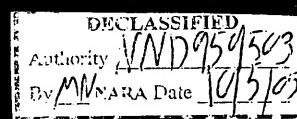
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**TELEGRAM**

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SECRET 409

PAGE 01 PARIS 12372 052054Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

R 051713Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 564  
INFO AXMBASSY ABIDJAN 246  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 208  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS 294

S E C R E T PARIS 12372

LIMDIS

SUBJ: HOUPHOUET-AZIKIWE TALK

REF: PARIS 12248; STATE 142034

1. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE OBTAIN FROM EITHER QUAI (DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA GUEURY) OR FOCCARTS OFFICE (ROPARTY) ANY CONFIRMATION THAT AZIKIWE AND DIKE TOLD HOUPHOUET OR SENGHOR THEY WILLING ACCEPT UNITY OF NIGERIA. BOTH SOURCES STICK TO CLAIM THAT NO FRENCH OFFICIALS SAW AZIKIWE WHILE HW WAS HERE.

(1) PAGE 2 RUFNCR 12372 S E C R E T

2. GUEURY TOLD EMBOFF APRIL 5 THAT REPORTS HE HAS SEEN OF AZIKIWE MEETINGS WITH SENGHOR AND HOUPHOUET (TIME AND PLACE NOT SPECIFIED DID NOT IDNICATE AZIKIWE ACCEPTANCE OF NIGERIAN UNITY PRINCIPLE.

GP-1 WALLNER

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OPR  
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P<sub>2</sub>  
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OTHER AGENCIES  
WH<sub>3</sub> 10  
CIA  
DOD  
USIA 4  
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Other

ACDAs  
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AA/AFR<sub>2</sub>  
AA/VN 2  
AA/EA<sub>3</sub>  
AA/NESA<sub>2</sub>

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-14

BIAFRA-NIGERIA  
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INDICATE:  COLLECT  
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### Classification

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ACTION: Amembassy ABIDJAN

**Info:**

INFO : Amembassy ACCRA

**Info:**

INFO : American Embassy ACCRA  
" DAKAR  
" DAR ES SALAAM  
" LAGOS  
" LONDON  
" LUSAKA  
" KAMPALA  
" PARIS

STATE  
LIMDIS

REF: Paris 12248

Embassy requested to attempt verify whether Houphouet-Azikiwe meeting cited  
reftel took place and if possible obtain any info available Abidjan on  
Houphouet's  
substance conversation between two leaders. View/~~Houphouet~~ expected stay in  
Switzerland, you may wish sound out Usher upon his return Abidjan.

END

MICROFILMED BY RS

KATZENBACH

Drafted by: AMH  
AF/AFW:AMHardy:nsc:4/4/68

Tel. Ext.  
2946

## **Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by**

*R.M.*  
AFW - Roy M. Melbourne

AEGL - May 2012 *Act* ~~Amendment~~

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8-65 DS-321

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### Classification

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

SECRET 101

PAGE 01 PARIS 12248 032103Z

81  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

R 041331Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 486  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 245  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 130  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 207  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS 292  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 4393

SECRET PARIS 12248

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: PARIS 12136; LAGOS 7979 POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

LIMDIS

1. DURING DISCUSSION APRIL 2, EMBOFF WAS TOLD BY NIGERIAN EMBASSY SOURCE THAT WHILE IN PARIS AZIKIWE EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE

NOTIFIED BY USA

PAGE 2 RUFNCR 12248 SECRET  
ENTERED INTO NEGOTIATIONS HERE WITH REPRESENTATIVES FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT (FMG) ON BASIS: SOME FORM OF AUTONOMY FOR "BIAFRA" WITHIN CONTEXT NIGERIAN UNITY. THIS POSITION REPORTEDLY EXPRESSED BY AZIKIWE TO IVORY COAST PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WHO IN TURN RELAYED IT TO PRESIDENT DE GAULLE DURING MARCH 30 MEETING. SOURCE WAS VAGUE ON PRECISELY WHAT AZIKIWE PROPOSED AND UNABLE TO SAY TO WHAT DEGREE AZIKIWE SPEAKING FOR OJUKWU AND IBOS.

(1) 2. EMBOFF PROBED SOURCES AT QUAI (DEPUTY TO DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA, MORIZET, AND NIGERIAN DESK OFFICER, PIERRET) WHO WERE EVASIVE IN REPLY TO QUESTION ON REPORTED HOUPHOUET-AZIKIWE MEETING. MORIZET FINALLY ADMITTED THERE HAD "PROBABLY" BEEN SUCH MEETING BUT SAID HE HAD NOT SEEN REPORT OF CONVERSATION. HE PROMISED TO ASK

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AFRICA DIRECTOR (LEBEL) FOR DETAILS. (PRESUMABLY THIS MEANS HE UNABLE TO DISCUSS SUBJECT WITHOUT PERMISSION HIGHER AUTHORITY). BOTH MORIZET AND PIERRET SCEPTICAL AS TO AZIKIWE HAVING MANDATE TO COMMIT OJUKWU.

3. COMMENT: REPORT FROM NIGERIAN EMBASSY HERE MAY BE BEHIND ARIKPO REMARKS REPORTED PARA 6/LAGOS 7979 SINCE WE HAVE SEEN

PAGE 3 RUFNCR 12248 SECRET  
NOTHING IN STATE OR CAS REPORTS ON SENGHOR-AZIKIWE TALKS INDICATING LATTER WILLING CEDE PRINCIPLE "BIAFRAN" SOVEREIGNTY. WE WILL ATTEMPT OBTAIN CONFIRMATION OF HOUPHOET-AZIKIWE MEETING AND DETAILS OF WHAT AZIKIWE MAY HAVE PROPOSED. AZIKIWE REPORTEDLY LEFT PARIS APRIL 1 FOR UNKNOWN EUROPEAN DESTINATION.

GP-1  
WALLNER

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 135

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Principals  
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SIG / 1  
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Geographic  
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ARA 2 /  
EA 1 1 /  
EUR 9 / 9  
NEA 7 /

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OTHER AGENCIES  
WH 6 / 10  
CIA / 1  
DOD / 4  
USIA 4 / 4  
NSA \_\_\_\_\_

Other  
ACDA 8 \_\_\_\_\_  
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Lagos 7966  
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R9  
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSR 01, GPM 03, NSC 10, SC 01, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01,  
SAH 03, L 03, H 02, P 04, USIA 12, INR 07, CIAE 00, NSA 02, AID 28, PC 1  
SR 01, ORM 03, /161 W

R 021642Z APR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0006  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 538  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1678  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 424  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU 679  
AMEMBASSY DR ES SALAAM 132  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 615  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2187  
GSOH/AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 105  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 775  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 386  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 950  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 830  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1080  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
DIA  
RUFHGVXUS MISSION GENEVA 138  
USUN 257

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 7979

SUBJECT: MORE NIGERIAN GAINS IN CIVIL WAR; GOWON'S  
SPEECH; PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: LAGOS 7745

1. LAGOS PAPERS APRIL 2 CARRY ANNOUNCEMENT ABAK  
"LIBERATED" BY FMG TROOPS TWO TO THREE DAYS AGO AND

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THIS COMPLETES TOTAL LIBERATION OF SOUTH-EASTERN STATE. OVER PAST WEEKEND FMG ANNOUNCED LIBERATION OF OTHER IMPORTANT TOWNS IN SOUTH-EASTERN STATE INCLUDING UYO (DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS AND PRINCIPAL CITY OF POPULOUS IBIBIO TRIBE), ETINAN(HOSPITAL AND MISSION CENTER NEAR KWA RIVER), OPOOE(PORT AT WEST END OF SOUTH-EASTERN STATE COASTLINE)AND IKOT-EKPENE(DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS AND PRINCIPAL CITY OF ANNANG TRIBE).

PAGE 3 RUTALS 7979CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
2. FMG MILITARY HEADQUARTERS CLAIMS VIRTUAL COLLAPSE OF ALL "BIAFRAN" DEFENSES IN AREA FROM CROSS RIVER WEST TO MOUTH OF IMO RIVER AND NORTHEAST TO IKOT-EKPENE. RAPID PROGRESS OF FMG TROOPS SEEMS INDICATE "BIAFRANS" ABANDONED AREA, AT LEAST INSOFAR AS ANY LARGE-SCALE MILITARY RESISTANCE CONCERNED. MAJORITY OF "BIAFRAN" GOVERNMENTAL MINISTRIES THOUGHT TO BE IN ABA, WHICH IS LOCATED 24 MILES WEST OF IKOT-EKPENE BUT ONLY 10 MILES FROM BORDER OF NON-I AREA. FMG SOURCES SAY ELEMENTS FEDERAL ARMY HAVE MOVED "GOOD WAY" ALONG THIS ROAD IN DIRECTION OF ABA.

3. DATT INFORMED BY SOURCE RELIEVED RELIABLE THAT FMG FORCES AT BONNY(WHERE OVER 6,000 FMG TROOPS HAVE BEEN MASSED IN RECENT WEEKS) HAVE MOVED NORTH AND EAST AND ARE OPERATING IN AREA BETWEEN BONNY RIVER AND IMO RIVER. SUCH MOVES ARE OBVIOUSLY PART OF TACTICAL PATTERN DESIGNED EITHER TO ATTACK PORT HARCOURT OR TO ISOLATE IT.

4. OJUKWU'S MARCH 31 RADIO SPEECH ADMITTED POCKETS OF

PAGE 4 RUTALS 7979CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
FMG TROOPS IN AREA WEST OF CROSS RIVER BUT CLAIMED THEY WERE BEING"SYSTEMATICALLY DESTROYED" BY BIAFRANS. ON ONITSHA FRONT OJUKWU SAID "CRACK SECOND DIVISION OF NIGERIAN ARMY WAS TOTALLY DESTROYED" BUT ADMITTED THAT 1500 NIGERIAN SOLDIERS WERE IN ONITSHA. ALTHOUGH SUCH STATEMENTS BY OJUKWU AND EVEN MORE EXTREME STATEMENTS OF BEZRADIO BIAFRA'S" NEWSCASTS ARE AT BEST GROSSLY EXAGGERATED

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IF NOT COMPLETELY FALSE, SOME EVIDENCE INDICATES  
SUBSTANTIAL LOSSES BOTH SIDES IN BATTLE FOR ONITSHA AND  
THAT "BIAFRANS" CURRENTLY HARASSING FMG SUPPLY LINES  
BETWEEN ONITSHA AND ENUGU AND ON ROAD NORTH OF ENUGU.

5. EVENING MARCH 31 GOWON MADE RADIO-TV SPEECH ON EVE  
OF BIRTH OF NEW STATES. POINTED OUT THAT TEN OF THE TWELVE  
STATES FULLY ESTABLISHED. SAID CREATION "MINIMUM OF TWELVE  
STATES WAS, "ONLY WAY OF REMOVING THE MAJOR DEFECT IN  
POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF COUNTRY". SAID WAR COULD BE  
ENDED BY PEACE TALKS IF REBELS GIVE UP SECESSION AND  
ACCEPT TWELVE STATE STRUCTURE OR BY "SAD ALTERNATIVE OF  
TOTAL MILITARY VICTORY". CRITICIZED CERTAIN CHURCH  
PEACE EFFORTS(BOTH VATICAN AND WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES)

PAGE 5 RUTALS 7979CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
AS ONE-SIDED AND AS NOT IN LONG-RUN INTEREST OF  
CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA. PLEDGED FMG WILL EMBARK ON  
PROGRAM OF POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION AND RECONCILIATION.

6. ON DIPLOMATIC FRONT VARIOUS BEHIND-SCENES NEGOTIATIONS  
CONTINUE EFFORTS ACHIEVE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. ADMIRAL WEY,  
COMMANDER NIGERIAN NAVY AND SENIOR MEMBER OF SUPREME MILITARY  
COUNCIL, RETURNED TO LAGOS LAST NIGHT AFTER TALKS WITH  
GENERAL ANKRAH IN ACCRA. ARIKPO, COMMISSIONER EXTAFF,  
RETURNED YESTERDAY AFTER TALKS WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR  
IN DAKAR. ON ARRIVAL AT LAGOS AIRPORT ARIKPO REPORTED AS  
SAYING TO PRESS THAT FORMER NIGERIAN PRESIDENT  
AZIKWE AND DR.  
KENNETH DIKE HAVE EXPRESSED THEIR BELIEF IN UNITY OF NIGERIA  
"BUT WHAT IS NOT CLEAR IS WHETHER REBEL ENVOYS ARE  
EXPRESSING THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS OR THAT OF REBEL REGIME".  
EMBASSY COMMENT: ARIKPO, OR LAGOS PRESS, MUST BE  
TWISTING THE TRUTH FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES. THERE IS  
NO EVIDENCE FROM TELEGRAMS REPORTING ZIK'S RECENT TRAVELS  
IN AFRICA AND PARIS THAT HE, OR DIKE, HAVE MADE SUCH  
STATEMENTS. HOWEVER, IF FMG HAS RECEIVED PRIVATE

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PAGE 6 RUTALS 7979CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
ASSURANCES OF SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN UNITY FROM CERTAIN  
IBO REPRESENTATIVES THIS MIGHT INDICATE CRACKS IN  
BIAFRAN SOLIDARITY.  
GP-3 MATHEWS.

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ACTION AF: 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, CCO 00, FBO 01, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NIC 01.  
NSC 10, O 02, OC 06, OPR 02, P 04, PER 02, RSC 01, SAHI 03, SC 01, SCA 02,  
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SCI 05, MED 02, CU 04, RSR 01, USIA 12, /185 W

R 251730Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9903  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 526  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1660  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 412  
AMEMBASSY COTONOU 671  
AMEMXCSSY DAR ES SALAAM 126  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 605  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2174  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA 104  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 758  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI 375  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 937  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 822  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1065  
DIA  
RUEBBA/CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA/AFSA  
USMISSION GENEVA 134  
USMISSION USUN 253

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7745

SUBJ: NIGERIAN GAINS IN CIVIL WAR

1. SUMMARY. FMG CAPTURE LAST WEEK OF MAJOR COMMERCIAL CITY OF  
ONITSHA IN NORTHWEST, AND SEVERAL TOWNS ON WEST SIDE OF RIVER.

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OPPOSITE CALABAR IN SOUTHEAST, DRAMATIZED PROGRESS MADE IN SUPPRESSING REBELLIOUS "BIAFRA". FMG NOW CONTROLS NEARLY HALF OF FORMER EASTERN REGION WHICH SECEDED IN MAY 1967 AND ALL OF RIVER#WEST STATE WHICH REBELS invaded last August. IN SEVEN MONTHS SINCE SEPTEMBER BIAFRANS HAVE LOST CONTROL OF TWO-THIRDS OF TOTAL AREA THEY ONCE OCCUPIED, INCLUDING ONE-FOURTH TO ONE-THIRD OF IBO "HEARTLAND". "BIAFRANS" VALIANT FIGHT SLOWED UP ESTABLISHMENT OF FMG CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION IN SEVERAL LIBERATED AREAS, CONTINUING STRUGGLE IN GREATLY COMPLICATING LONG-RUN PROBLEM OF RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION.

2. NIGERIAN PRESS IN LAGOS, IBADAN AND KADUNA HAILED CAPTURE OF

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7745CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
ONITSHA WITH JUBILATION AS GREAT AS WHEN ENUGU CAPTURED. THIS IS REFLECTION NOT ONLY OF STRATEGIC AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF ONITSHA, WHICH IS ONLY 12 MILES FROM OJUKWU'S HOME TOWN OF NNEWI, BUT ALSO OF HARD FIGHTING IN AREA OVER MANY WEEKS AND OF STRING OF EARLIER FAILURE SEIZE CITY. SKETCH SAYS "ALREADY WARI IS AS GOOD AS LOST BY REBELS." ONITSHA CAPTURE GREATLY SHORTENS FMG'S SUPPLY LINES.

3. ALL AREA EAST OF CROSS RIVER NOW IN FEDERAL HANDS. WITHIN LAST FEW DAYS FMG HAS ALSO ANNOUNCED "LIBERATION" OF IMPORTANT TOWNS OF ORON AND JAMESTOWN ON SOUTHWEST SIDE OF CROSS RIVER OPPOSITE CALABAR. ANOTHER FMG ATTACK 30-40 MILES UP-STREAM FROM ORON AND ON WEST BANK OF CROSS RIVER HAS LIBERATED ITU AND TWO SMALL TOWNS. FMG SAYS LOCAL POPULACE IN ALL THESE PLACES, MEMBERS OF IBIBIO TRIBE, "JUBILANTLY" COOPERATING WITH FEDERAL TROOPS WHO NOW THREATENING UYO, IKOT EKPENE AND EKET. BEFORE MILITARY OPERATIONS BEGAN IN THIS AREA, FMG HAD LAID GROUNDWORK FOR COOPERATION BY INDIGENOUS POPULATION. DESPITE SUBSTANTIAL VICTORIES OF FMG AND MOUNTING

PRESSURE, "RADIO BIAFRA" DENIES OR CAMOUFLAGES LOSS OF PLACES RECENTLY CLAIMED BY FMG.

4. SEVERAL FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS (AP, REUTERS, AFP) AND

PAGE 4 RUTALS 7745CC C O N F I D E N T I A L

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OTHERS) VISITED ONITSHA WITHIN LAST THREE DAYS AT INVITATION FMG. THEY REPORT ONLY HANDFUL CIVILIANS IN TOWN. MANY DEAD BODIES SEEN. BIAFRAN TROOPS STILL CLOSE TO CITY ON NORTH AS WELL AS SOUTH.

5. ASIKA, ADMINISTRATOR FOR LIBERATED AREAS OF EAST-CENTRAL STATE AND NATIVE OF ONITSHA, ANNOUNCED AT LAGOS PRESS CONFERENCE MARCH 23 THAT HE WOULD VERY SOON NAME A RESIDENT FOR ONITSHA. ONE OF VERY FEW CIVILIANS REMAINING IN CITY IS UNCLE OF ASIKA, WHO IS DESCRIBED AS "RED-CAP CHIEF" OSZONITSHA.

6. LIFE IN ENUGU MOVES SLOWLY TOWARD NORMAL. CHUKWURA, RECENTLY APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR, HAS TAKEN UP RESIDENCE. CIVILIANS GRADUALLY COMING BACK. MARAUDING BY BANDS OF BIAFRANS AT NIGHT APPEARS TO HAVE ENDED. AIRPORT IN USE BY SMALL PLANES AND WORK IN PROGRESS TO MAKE IT SUITABLE AS ADVANCE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE BASE IN LIEU OF MAKURDI. WATER IN TAPS AVAILABLE IN LOWER AREAS OF TOWN, BUT NOT ON HILLS. NO ELECTRICITY IN TOWN BUT ASIKA ANNOUNCED MARCH 23 THAT 50 ECNI ENGINEERS AND TECHNICIANS FROM LAGOS ARE IN ENUGU ATTEMPTING TO REACTIVATE

PAGE 5 RUTALS 7745CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
ELECTRICAL SYSTEM. ASIKA ANNOUNCED PLANS TO BEGIN SOON PUBLICATION OF NEW NEWSPAPER AT PLANT OF FORMER NIGERIAN OUTLOOK WHICH WAS CALLED BIAFRAN SUN AFTER REBELS SECEDED.

7. CIVILIANS ONCE AGAIN BEGINNING TO EMERGE FROM HIDING IN FMG HELD NORTHERN PORTION OF EAST-CENTRAL STATE, BUT RED CROSS DOCTOR (LUTHERAN) WHO RETURNED FROM ENUGU MARCH 23 SAW EVIDENCE MOUNTING OF ILL EFFECTS OF MALNUTRITION. DOCTORS FEARFUL OF EPIDEMICS. FORTUNATELY, RED CROSS TEAMS (INCLUDING FOUR EXPATRIATE WOMEN NURSES) ABLE TO OPERATE INCREASINGLY EFFECTIVELY IN SMALL TOWNS AND VILLAGES AS FAR AS 20 MILES EAST OF ENUGU TOWARDS ABAKALIKI AND SOUTH TO AGBANI.

8. IN RIVERS STATE TSARO-WIWA, ADMINISTRATOR FOR BONNY, HAS SET UP PERMANENT HEADQUARTERS IN BONNY. MOST IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM FOR FOOD FOR ESTIMATED 30,000 INHABITANTS OF BONNY, MANY OF WHOM ARE REFUGEES FROM SURROUNDING AREA.

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RIVERS STATE GOVERNOR'S OFFICE REMAINS LAGOS PENDING MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS.

PAGE 6 RUTALS 7745CC ON FIDELITY MAIL  
9. FMG HAS FOUGHT SINCE OCTOBER TO GAIN COMPLETE CONTROL OF CALABAR AREA. LAST WEEK FMG ANNOUNCED CAPTURE UGEPE, LAST MAJOR OUTPOST OF "BIAFRA" ON EAST SIDE CROSS RIVER. AS RESULT THIS LONG STRUGGLE, LIFE SLOW IN RETURNING TO NORMAL BUT CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS MADE IN LAST TWO MONTHS. CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATOR IS NOW RESIDENT IN CALABAR. MILITARY GOVERNOR EXPECTS BE THERE BY APRIL 1. EXPORT OF PALM KERNELS BEGAN RECENTLY. NOW THAT "BIAFRAN" GUN EMPLACEMENTS AT ORON ON CROSS RIVER HAVE BEEN SEIZED BY FMG TROOPS, SHIPPING FROM PORT OF CALABAR SHOULD BE UNIMPEDED. SEVERAL EXPATRIATE BUSINESSMEN NOW SURVEYING WAR DAMAGE AND ARE REOPENING BUSINESS. POSTAL SERVICE MORE OR LESS NORMAL SINCE JANUARY 15. CALABARI SCHOOLS IN OPERATION AND 747 STUDENTS RECENTLY TOOK FIRST SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAM. AT NORTHERN END OF SOUTHEAST STATE, OGOJA PROVINCE, "BIAFRAN" RESISTANCE WAS OVERCOME LAST JULY, AND AS RESULT RETURN NORMAL BUSINESS HAS BEEN MUCH MORE RAPID AND CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATOR HAS BEEN THERE FORE FIVE MONTHS.

GP-3.

MATHEWS

NOTE: (#) AS RECEIVED.

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INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, IO 13, EA 10, AID 28,

RSR 01, /150 W

P R 211610Z MAR 78  
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INFO CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
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AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 409  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 398  
AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM 124  
AMEMBASSY LISBON 144  
AMEMBASSY LOME 412  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2170  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA 54

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7656

SUBJECT: VIEWS OF COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ARIKPO.

I. ARIKPO DISCUSSED FOLLOWING TOPICS IN PRIVATE MEETING  
WITH ME THIS NOON.

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7656CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
2. OBSERVERS AFTER CEASE FIRE. ARIKPO SAID IYALLA HAD  
REPORTED CONVERSATION IN WHICH ASSISTANT SECRETARY PALMER  
HAD NOTED IBO SPOKESMEN COMPLAINING NO ONE INTERESTED IN  
NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AND HAD SUGGESTED MIGHT BE HELPFUL  
IF FMG ASKED EMPEROR TO SEND OBSERVER TO NIGERIA. ARIKPO  
DID NOT SEE WHAT USEFUL ROLE SUCH OBSERVER COULD PLAY NOW  
BUT REITERATED THAT FMG HAD OWN MIND AS TO UTILITY FOREIGN  
OBSERVERS AFTER CEASE FIRE. HE HAD MADE THIS POINT IN  
HIS RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN FOUR ASIAN COMMONWEALTH CAPITALS  
WHERE HAD DRAWN DISTINCTION BETWEEN COMMONWEALTH

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07656 211941Z

FORCE WHICH FMG OPPOSED AND COMMONWEALTH OBSERVERS.  
ARIKPO EXPRESSED SATISFACTION OF CORDIAL RECEPTION  
AND USEFULNESS HIS TALKS IN ASIAN CAPITALS.)

3. PEACEMAKERS. ARIKPO EXPRESSED DISMAY AND DISILLUSIONMENT  
WITH ACTIVITIES OF INTENDING PEACEMAKERS, MENTIONING  
SPECIALLY VISITS OF UK CHURCHMENTO NIGERIA AND  
QTE BIAFRA UNITE, JOINT VATICAN-WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES  
APPEAL, AND RECENT SENEGALESE MISSION. IT APPEARED TO  
FMG THAT PEACEMAKERS WANTED FMG TO STOP SUCCESSFUL MILITARY  
CAMPAIGN BUT WERE NOT CALLING FOR ANY CONCESSIONS OF REBELS.

PAGE 3 RUTALS 765/CC CONFIDENTIAL  
ARIKPO WHO STAUNCH PRESBYTERIAN SAID HE AND MANY OTHER  
NIGERIAN CHRISTIANS FEARED ILL-ADVISED FOREIGN CHURCH  
GROUPS HAD ALREADY SERIOUSLY DAMAGED POSITION OF  
CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA. RE PROJECTED VISIT BY MARTIN  
LUTHER KING AND ASSOCIATES, IYALLA HAD REPORTED THAT HE  
BELIEVED HE HAD PERSUASSED THEM NOT TO COME. ARIKPO SAID  
CONSTRUCTIVE AND COMPLETELY OBJECTIVE PEACEMAKERS  
WERE QUAKERS WHO ARE DISCREETLY SERVING AS CHANNEL  
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN FMG AND REBELS. ADAM CURLE  
(LOME 657) ON MARCH 18 BROUGHT PROPOSAL TO FMG FROM  
OJUKWU FOR MEETING WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. FMG HAD  
TOLD CURLE IT WOULD MEET IF OJUKWU WOULD GIVE PRIVATE  
COMMITMENT THAT HE WOULD RENOUNCE SECESSION AND ACCEPT  
A STATE STRUCTURE IN COURSE OF MEETING--I.E. FMG DOES  
NOT ASK THAT OJUKWU PUBLICLY TAKE THESE STEPS BEFORE  
MEETING. CURLE DEPARTED LAGOS WITH THIS COUNTER PROPOSAL  
AND HOPED REPORT BACK TO FMG BY MARCH 23.

4. PORTUGAL. ARIKPO BELIEVES THAT PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

PAGE 4 RUTALS 765/CC CONFIDENTIAL  
HAS FOLLOWED THROUGH ON UNDERTAKINGS GIVEN TO HIM TO  
RESTRICT USE OF LISBON AS REBEL SUPPLY AND TRANSPORTATION  
CENTER. FMG HAS LEARNED HOWEVER THAT LUCUS MERELY SHIFTED  
TO SAO TOME. FMG UNDERSTANDS SUPPLIES FOR REBELS NOW

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 07656 211941Z

BROUGHT BY SHIP TO SAO TOME AND THAT RHODESIAN AIRCRAFT  
ARE RUNNING SHUTTLE SERVICE FROM SAO TOME TO QTE BIAFRA UNQTE.

5° TANZANIA. ARIKPU WAS DISTURBED BY AZIKIWE'S  
RECEPTION BY NYERERE AND DOES NOT RULE OUT POSSIBILITY  
TANZANIA MIGHT RECOGNIZE QTE BIAFRA UNQTE.

GP3. MATTHEWS

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07613 201941Z

82  
ACTION AF 15

INFO CIAE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,  
SS 20, USIA 12, AIDI 28, PC 04, ACDA 16, RSR 01, EUR 15, 143 W

R 201445Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9817  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1648  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 406  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 394  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2163  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 603  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA 751  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 934  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 815  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1063  
AMCONSUL IBADAN 1690  
AMCONSUL KADUNA 2267  
DIA  
CINCSTRIKEJVC CINCMEA FSA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 7613

1. SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PEACE MOVES.

REF: LAGOS 7398 AND 7537

1. SENEGALESE DELEGATION WHICH VISITED LAGOS MARCH 17-18 HAD NOTHING NEW TO REPORT ON BIAFRAN ATTITUDE, ACCORDING EDWARD ENAHORO OF EXTAFF. AZIKIWE HAD SPOKEN TO SENGHOR ALONG STANDARD BIAFRAN LINES.

2. SENEGALESE APPROACH TO FMG WAS NAIVE IN THE EXTREME; THEY HAD URGED AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND RETURN TO ABURI AGREEMENT ON GROUNDS THAT BIAFRAN SECESSION AND SUBSEQUENT CIVIL WAR HAD BEEN CAUSED SOLELY BY MINOR DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION OF ASURI.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07613 201941Z

4. NIGERIANS PROMISED TO CONSIDER SENEGALESE APPROACH  
AND SEND CONSIDERED REPLY IN DUE COURSE. THEY DO NOT WISH  
TO OFFEND PRESIDENT SENGHOR, BUT SUBSTANCE OF REPLY WOULD  
MERELY BE THAT FMG ARE READY TO STOP WAR AND NEGOTIATE  
SETTLEMENT ONCE THE BIAFRANS ACCEPT NIGERIAN SOVEREIGNTY

AND 12 STATE FORMULA.

SP-3  
MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07554 191011Z

18  
ACTION AF 15

TINFO CIAE 00, GPM 03, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SC 01,  
SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 03, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, 125 W

R 181620Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9785  
TINFO DIA  
CINCSTRIKE CINCMEAFSA  
RUTA V/AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1644  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 403  
AMEMBASSY DAKAR 392  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2159  
AMEMBASSY PARIS 811  
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE 1061

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 7554

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS-GOWON'S VIEWS

1. BRITISH HC OVER WEEKEND SENT FOLLOWING REPORT OF  
HICOMER'S FAREWELL CALL ON GENERAL GOWON BEFORE GOING  
ON HOME LEAVE MARCH 16. ADDRESSEES REQUESTED PROTECT

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7554CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
SOURCE.

2. "I SAW GOWON WILL WILLA (DHC) THIS MORNING FOR JUST  
OVER AN HOUR. I TOLD HIM MY PURPOSE WAS TO GET HIS VIEWS  
ON VARIOUS QUESTIONS WHICH WERE AGITATING BRITISH PUBLIC  
OPINION SO THAT I COULD GIVE THEM AT FIRST HAND NEXT WEEK  
IN LONDON. FOR THIS REASON I SHOULD PUT BLUNTLY THE  
CRITICISMS WHICH WERE PUT FORWARD: HE ACCEPTED THIS AND  
REPLIED WITH HIS USUAL FRANKNESS AND COURTESY.

3. "I SAID THAT FMG WERE GIVING APPEARANCE OF BEING  
UNWILLING TO NEGOTIATE WHEREAS BIAFRANS HAVE PERSUADED

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07554 191011Z

PEOPLE IN BRITAIN THAT THEY HAVE OFFERED IMPORTANT CONCESSIONS. WHY DID NOT FMG AGREE TO TALKS WITHOUT CONDITIONS? GOWON'S REPLY SHOWED HOW VERY MUCH THEY SUSPECT OJUKWU AND HOW SCARED THEY STILL ARE OF HIS "MENTAL AGILITY" EVEN THOUGH HE IS BEING BEATEN IN THE FIELD. GOWON DID NOT THINK THAT OJUKWU WAS AT ALL SINCERE IN OFFERING TO RENOUNCE SECESSION; WHATEVER HE HAD SAID ABOUT THIS HE HAD LATER CONTRADICTED. AS FOR THE

PAGE 3 RUTALS 7554CC C O N F I D E N T I A L

TWELVE-STATE ORGANIZATION HE THOUGHT OJUKWU'S OFFER OF PLEBISCITES WAS HYPOCRITICAL. THE PEOPLE OF THE RIVERS AND THE SOUTH EAST CERTAINLY DID NOT WISH TO REMAIN UNDER FNUGU. I SAID I THOUGHT THE REFERENCE TO PLEBISCITES COULD BE INTERPRETED AS A FACE SAVING DEVICE MEANING THAT OJUKWU WOULD ACCEPT THE TWELVE STATES. GOWON COMMENTED THAT THIS WAS MAKING THE VERY POINT HE HAD MADE, THAT OJUKWU USED WORDS TO DECEIVE PEOPLE. HOWEVER HE WOULD TELL ME WHAT HE HAD TOLD ARNOLD SMITH: IF OJUKWU MADE A VYNVINCING OFFER IN WRITING (IT NEED NOT BE TO HIM BUT COULD BE TO A THIRD PARTY THEN HE WAS WILLING TO GET DOWN TO

NEGOTIATIONS NEXT DAY.

4. "SECONDLY I SAID THAT HMG WAS UNDER PRESSURE FROM RELIGIOUS AND HUMANITARIAN GROUPS WHO HAD BEEN SHOCKED BY ACCOUNTS OF INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING OF NON-MILITARY TARGETS SUCH AS HOSPITALS. I SAID ALSO THERE WOULD BE A GREAT OUTCRY IF NAPALM WAS USED. GOWON REPLIED, AS EXPECTED, THAT HIS FORCES WERE UNDER ORDERS TO ATTACK MILITARY TARGETS ONLY. THE MARY SLESSOR HOSPITAL AT ITU

PAGE 4 RUTALS 7554CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
WAS BEING USED BY WHITE MERCENARIES AT THE TIME IT WAS ATTACKED. HE MENTIONED NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF HOW FEDERAL FORCES HAD TRIED TO SPARE, E.G. CHURCHES IN THE IDWEST,

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 07554 191011Z

A D HAD ONLY ATTACKED THEM WHEN REBELS REFUSED TO WITHDRAW. HE NOTED THERE WAS NO HUMANITARIAN OUTCRY WHEN REBELS, WHO FOR FIRS THREE MONTHS OF THE WAR WERE THE ONLY ONES TO HAVE AN AIR FORCE, HAD BOMBED CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS. AS FOR NAPALM THE ONLY USE OF IT SO FAR HAD BEEN BY THE REBELS AND THIS HAD PRODUIED NO OUTCRY. I POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS BECAUSE FEDERAL PUBLIC RELATIONS WERE DISMALLY BAD AND

THE REBELS' VERY GOOD. HE THOUGHT THERE WERE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH, THOUGH COGENT, HAD LITTLE CONNECTION WITH MORALITY. THE FEDERAL FORCES HAD NOT ORDERED ANY NAPALM AND HAD NOT USED IT. I BELIEVE THIS TO BE TRUE, AND THAT THE REPORT ABOUT NAPALM BY MR. KERS FROM CALABAR SE T TO MOBERLY BY ANDERSON ON 7 MARCH IS WRONG. (LAGOS A-496) HOWEVER GOWON CHOSE HIS WORDS SO THAT HE DID NOT PLEDGE HIMSELF NEVER TO USE IT.

5. "I MENTIONED AS ONE OF THE QUESTIONS WHICH WAS AGITATING

PAGE 5 RUTALS 7554CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
PEOPLE IN LONDON WHO KNEW NIGERIA THE POSSIBILITY THAT FURTHER MILITARY OPERATIONS MIGHT PRODUCE MORE CHAOS IN IBO AND. GOWON SAID HE DID NOT THINK THIS AT ALL LIKELY. HE FELT SURE THAT LEADERS WTULD COME FORWARD AND IN PARTICULAR HE THOUGHT SOME ARMY OFFICER WOULD BE MOST LIKELY PERSON TO TAKE SUCH AN INITIATIVE. HE SPOKE HIGHLY OF ALEX MADCYBO, OJUKWU'S CURRENT ARMY COMMANDER, WHO HE SAID WAS INTELLIGENT AND MODERATE. HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO DO BUSINESS WITH HIM, OR ANYONE LIKE HIM. THERE WAS MUCH TO NEGOTIATE, PARTICULARLY FINANCIAL PROVISION FOR RECONSTRUCTION OF WAR DAMAGED AREAS.

6. "I MADE TO HIM THE POINT IN YOURTEL ABOUT THE BEHAV- TOUR OF NIGERIAN DELEGATE IN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION OF UN. I SAID THIS MADE IT ALL VERY DIFFICULT TO KEEP UP OUR SYMPATHY WITH THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. HE MADE NO COMMENT ON THE FACTS OF WHICH HE WAS UNDOUBTEDLY ENTIRELY IGNORANT. I SHALL SPEAK AT GREATER LENGTH LATER THIS MORNING TO OGBU.

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PAGE 04 LAGOS 07554 191011Z

PAGE 6 RUTALS 7554CC C O N F I D E N T I A L  
7. "GOWON STRESSED ONCE OR TWICE THAT THE FMG AND THE COMMANDER IN THE FIELD WERE COMPLETELY AT ONE AND THAT THERE WAS NO SPLIT BETWEEN THEM ABOUT TREATMENT OF IBOS. HE SAID THAT THE TROOPS IN THE FIELD HAD NO THOUGHT OF MASSACRING IBOS BUT WERE LOOKING AFTER THEM VERY WELL. IBOS IN LIBERATED AREA WERE NOW COMING BACK AGAIN TO THEIR NORMAL AVOCATIONS. THEY HAD BEEN TEMPORARILY SCARED INTO THE BUSH BY THE RAID ON NSUKKA."

8. "AS I TOOK MY LEAVE HE ASKED ME TOO EXPRESS TO YOU AND THE PRIME MINISTER HIS PERSONAL THANKS FOR THE COMFORT AND SUPPORT WHICH YOU HAVE GIVEN HIM AND HIS GOVERNMENT. HE FULLY REALIZED THE DIFFICULTIES AND THE PUBLIC PRESSURES THAT YOU WERE UNDER (I BELIEVE THIS IS TRUE). HE HAS A SENSIBLE IDEA OF THE POLITICAL SCENE AT HOME AND HE WAS THEREFORE ALL THE MORE PLEASED AT YOUR STAUNCHNESS AND GOOD SENSE. IN THE FUTURE THIS WOULD STAND BRITAIN IN GOOD STEAD IN NIGERIA."

GPM MATHews

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07397 121631Z

51  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

R 121455Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9710  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1633  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 399  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2149  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMIAFSA  
DIA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7397

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LAGOS 7327 (DAO 0088, MARCH 1968)

1. BRITISH HC LAGOS OBTAINED ESSENTIALLY SAME STORY AS INF REFTEL FROM OTHER SOURCES. ONE SOURCE SAID THAT

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7397CC S E C R E T/LIMDIS  
OJUKWU SENT MESSAGE TO GOWON ON MARCH 7 THROUGH GENERALI ANKRAH STATING HIS WILLINGNESS TO MEET GOWON FOR DISCUSSIONS AS INDICATED RENUEL. GOWON SAID HE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MEET OJUKWU IF LATTER ACCEPTED FMG'S TWO CONDITIONS.

2. LATER HI COMER SPOKE TO ARNOLD SMITH WHO HAD HEARD SAME STORY DIRECT FROM GOWON. ACCORDING SMITH, HOWEVER, GOWON HAD NOT INSISTED ON PRIOR ACCEPTANCE OF THE TWO CONDITIONS BUT ASKED ONLY THAT OJUKWU SHOULD PUT HIS PROPOSITION IN WRITING SO HE COULD CONSIDER IT WITH HIS ADVISERS. OTHERWISE SMITH REPORTED NO SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN SITUATION THOUGH HE REMAINS CONVINCED GOWON AND A NUMBER OF INFLUENTIAL SUPPORTERS ARE ANXIOUS FOR A NEGOTIATED END TO THE FIGHTING. GP-1. MATHEWS

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 SCS *V 1*  
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## C &amp; C Agencies

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 CIA *V 1*  
 DOD *V 1*  
 NSA *V 1*  
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## Other

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07339 081632Z

54 44  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 1070 W

R 081515Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9682  
DIA  
INFO CINCSTRIKE  
CIA  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1628  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2145  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA 397

S E C R E T LAGOS 7339

LIMDIS

REF: USDAO 0088 MAR 68.

ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR CONFIRMED TO DCM INFORMATION CONTAINED  
REFTEL. SOURCE WAS GOWON WHO INDICATED HE UNLIKELY ACCEPT  
OJUKWU PROPOSAL.

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7339CC S E C R E T  
GP-3. MATHEWS.

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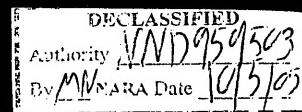
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 C & C Agencies    *6*  
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SECRET 505

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07340 681640Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 081520Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO : SECSTATE WASHDC 9583  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1529  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2146  
DIA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7340

LIMDIS NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LAGOS 7299

1. BRITISH HC RECEIVED TELEGRAM FROM C.O. DATED MARCH 7  
ASKING HC PASS FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO ARNOLD SMITH FROM ADU:

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7340CC S E C R E T

2. "I AT LAST CONTACTED KENNETH DIKE IN PARIS LAST NIGHT.  
HE SAID HE ARRIVED FROM ACCRA NIGHT OF SATURDAY 2 MARCH  
AND AFTER ONLY FIVE HOURS IN LONDON HAD TO LEAVE FOR EUROPE  
ON IMPORTANT AND URGENT MISSION. HE HAD NOT BEEN IN PARIS  
UNTIL LAST NIGHT.

3. "I URGED HIM TO PROCEED TO LONDON FOR URGENT DISCUSSIONS  
WITH ME SO THAT I COULD SEND MESSAGE TO YOU BEFORE YOUR  
DEPARTURE FROM LAGOS NEXT SATURDAY. HE SAID THIS WAS NOT  
POSSIBLE BECAUSE HE HAD TO PROCEED TO ANOTHER AFRICAN  
COUNTRY TODAY AND ARRANGEMENTS MADE COULD NOT BE CANCELLED.  
THE BEST HE COULD DO WAS TO LEAVE A MESSAGE FOR  
MOJEKWI TO PROCEED TO LONDON ON ARRIVAL BACK FROM THE  
EAST END OF WEEK OR EARLY NEXT WEEK.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 07340 081640Z

4."IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES THEREFORE I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO CONVEY YOUR MESSAGE TO THE EAST THROUGH HIM. ASTON AND I DO NOT CONSIDER THAT A MESSAGE THROUGH ELLAH IS SAFE.

5."ASTON AND I HAVE THE FIRM IMPRESSION THAT DIKE COULD

PAGE 3 RUTALS 7340CC S E C R E T  
HAVE COME TO LONDON AFTER OUR REPEATED MESSAGES THIS WEEK BUT HAS CHOSEN NOT TO DO SO BECAUSE PROBABLY THE OTHER SIDE IS EITHER NOT READY OR WILLING TO PROVIDE A DEFINITE REPLY TO YOUR MESSAGE TO COLONEL OJUKWU. FURTHERMORE, FROM OBLIQUE HINTS GIVEN BY ELLAH WHEN DISCUSSING OTHER MATTERS WITH HIM, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THE IMPRESSION HAS GAINED CURRENCY IN HIGH QUARTERS ON THE OTHER SIDE THAT YOU HAD BEEN UNABLE TO OBTAIN THE AGREEMENT OF FMG TO A MEETING WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS ON BASIS OF NEUTRAL AGENDA.

6." I FEAR THEREFORE THAT WE JUST HAVE TO WAIT HERE UNTIL MOJEKWI OR DIKE IS WITHIN RANGE FOR US TO BRING TO LONDON FOR FURTHER DISCUSSIONS. WE BELIEVE THEY WILL BE VERY DISAPPOINTED WITH THE MESSAGE WE HAVE TO CONVEY REGARDING THE REFUSAL OF FMG TO YOUR VISIT TO THE EAST AND ALSO TO LACK OF INDICATION OF AGREEMENT YET TO A MEETING".  
GP-1. MATHEWS.

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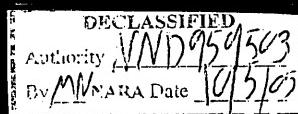
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TELEGRAM

47  
SECRET 050

PAGE 01 LAGOS 07299 072035Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

R 071510Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9663  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1624  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2140  
DIA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7299

LIMDIS/NOFORN

REF: LAGOS 7175

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. VISIT OF BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE DR. DIKE TO ACCRA LAST WEEKEND PRODUCED NO VISIBLE PROGRESS. BRITISH HC REPORT TO C.O. MARCH 6 FOLLOWS:

2. "ADEGOROYE, NIGERIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER IN ACCRA, RETURNED TO LAGOS FOR TWO DAYS EARLY THIS WEEK. WE UNDERSTOOD FROM ENAHORO, DEPUTRY PERMANENT SECRETARY MEA, THAT HE CAME TO REPORT TO GOWON ON TALKS DIKE HAD HAD WITH GENERAL ANKRAH.

3. "ACCORDING TO ENAHORO, DIKE HAD SAID NOTHING NEW, THOUGH HE HAD NO DOUBT TRIED TO CONVINCE ANKRAH THAT THERE HAD BEEN A SUBSTANTIAL SHIFT IN THE BIAFRAN POSITION. ANKRAH WAS NOW REPORTING TO OTHER MEMBERS OF OAU PEACE MISSION AND DIKE WAS UNDERSTOOD TO BE RETURNING TO BIAFRA FOR CONSULTATIONS. ADEGOROYE HAD NOT (NOT) MET DIKE PERSONALLY." GP-1 MATHEWS.

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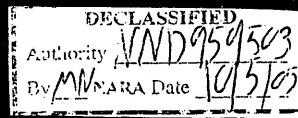
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Other

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 07175 050811Z

8  
ACTION SS 70

INFO 0070 W

R 041530Z MAR 68  
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9603  
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA 1615  
AMEMBASSY LONDON 2130  
DIA  
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEA/AFSA

S E C R E T LAGOS 7175

LIMDIS/NOFORN

1. OVER WEEKEND BRITISH HC RECEIVED SEVERAL REPORTS ABOUT NIGERIAN CRISIS NEGOTIATIONS. ESSENTIAL POINTS THOSE MESSAGES, WHICH HC REQUESTS BE PROTECTED, FOLLOW.
2. ON FEB 29 ADU IN LONDON SENT URGENT MESSAGE TO ARNOLD SMITH IN LAGOS WHICH SAID DR. DIKE IS NOW "IN ACCRA TO TALK WITH GENERAL ANKRAH ABOUT RESTORING THE COMMUNICATION LINK."

PAGE 2 RUTALS 7175CC S E C R E T  
WITH OJUKWU, DIKE WAS EXPECTED BACK IN LONDON ON MARCH 3.  
ADU COMMENTED THAT HE AGREED "BIAFRANS WOULD BE WELL ADVISED  
TO ACCEPT MEETING ON BASIS OF THE FIVE POINT AGENDA. I  
SUSPECT THAT THERE ARE THOSE AMONG THEM WHO FULLY REALIZE THIS AND  
THAT THEY CAN SEE TIME RUNNING OUT. NEVERTHELESS, SUSPICION OF  
FMG MOTIVES AND SINCERITY IS VERY DEEP... IT WOULD THEREFORE  
HELP PUT FMG IN MUCH BETTER POSTURE IN EVERY RESPECT IF WE  
COULD GET FMG AGREEMENT TO MEETING BEFORE I SEE DIKE."

3. ADU ALSO EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT ALTHOUGH BIAFRANS MAY BE IN DIFFICULTY, ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED AT TALKS. ANY ATTEMPT TO GET FURTHER CONCESSIONS BEFORE TALKS MIGHT ONLY CAUSE MORE LONG DELAY. IN MEANTIME SITUATION COULD DEVELOP IN BIAFRA WHERE CENTRAL AUTHORITY HAD COLLAPSED

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AND THERE WOULD BE NO ONE RESPONSIBLE TO TALK WITH. THEREFORE, HE RECOMMENDED THAT COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON GETTING BOTH SIDES TO TALK ON BASIS FIVE POINT AGENDA AND ON BASIS EXPLAINED ARNOLD SMITH'S LETTER TO GOWON.

PAGE 3 RUTALS 7175CC S E C R E T

4. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE REPORTED DISCUSSION WITH ASTON OF COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT ON FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) ARNOLD SMITH HAD BELIEVED FMG HAD AUTHORIZED HIM TO PUT FORWARD FIVE POINT NEUTRAL AGENDA TO BIAFRANS AS A BASIS ON WHICH FMG WOULD HOLD TALKS. FMG AS OF FEB 29 DENIED THIS WAS SO AND SAID FIVE POINT AGENDA DESIGNED ONLY TO ENABLE ARNOLD SMITH TO TEST BIAFRAN REACTIONS. FMG SAYS THEY WILL CONSIDER TALKING ONLY WHEN THEY HAVE HEARD BIAFRAN REACTIONS (THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH REPORT SUBMITTED BY UKHC LAGOS). (B) SECRETARIAT HAD NEVER OBTAINED ANY POSITIVE CONFIRMATION FROM BIAFRANS THAT THEY WERE READY TO TALK WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS. PRESENT STATE OF SECRETARIAT'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BIAFRA IS THAT THEY ARE STILL WAITING FOR BIAFRAN REACTION TO FIVE POINT AGENDA.

5. ASTON ALSO TOLD CO THAT GOWON HAD RECEIVED MESSAGE FROM EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA ASKING SHARPLY WHAT FMG WAS UP TO IN GETTING INVOLVED WITH CS. EMPEROR APPARENTLY THOUGHT GOOD AFRICANS SHOULD ACCEPT OAU MEDIATION. ADU CONFIRMED THAT

PAGE 4 RUTALS 7175CC S E C R E T

OAU WAS UNHAPPY ABOUT COMMONWEALTH INVOLVEMENT BUT BOTH ANKRAH AND FMG WOULD PREFER TO KEEP OAU OUT OF NEGOTIATIONS. EMPEROR'S REACTION EMBARRASSED GOWON AND MAY EXPLAIN SOME OF HIS RELUCTANCE TO AGREE TO TALKS AT THIS STAGE.

6. ADU INFORMED ARNOLD SMITH OF PLAN FOR ENGLISH CHURCH LEADERS TO VISIT BIAFRA ON MARCH 5. CHURCH GROUP WOULD BE LED BY ARCHBISHOP PATTERSON OF WEST AFRICA AND THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM. A SECOND GROUP CONSISTING OF THE BISHOP OF

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SALISBURY, A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE METHODIST CHURCH WILL GO TO LAGOS ON MARCH 4. THE CHURCH GROUPS EXPECT TO TAKE MEDICAL SUPPLIES FROM THE RED CROSS WITH THEM. THE LAGOS COMMITTEE OF WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IS BEING ASKED TO INFORM FMG OF VISIT TO LAGOS ONLY. THIS GROUP SEES ITSELF AS A MISSION TO NIGERIAN CHURCHES AND IS NOT PROPOSING ITSELF FOR A MEDIATORY ROLE. THE FMG IS NOT BEING INFORMED AT THIS STAGE OF THE PARALLEL VISIT TO BIAFRA, BUT THE LAGOS MISSION MAY INTEND TO DO SO THROUGH NIGERIAN CHURCHES AFTER ITS ARRIVAL. ADU ASKED THAT HC INFORM ARNOLD SMITH, BUT HE WAS ANXIOUS

PAGE 5 RUTALS 7175CC S E C R E T  
THAT NO ONE BETRAY KNOWLEDGE OF THESE CHURCH MOVES OR THEIR SOURCE. BOTH GROUPS OF CHURCH LEADERS WILL CARRY WITH THEM A MESSAGE FROM ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. PURPOSE OF GROUP GOING TO BIAFRA IS TO TALK TO CHURCH LEADERS AND WITH VIEW TO PERSUADE THEM TO ENCOURAGE FORCES OF MODERATION AND DISCOURAGE ATTEMPTS TO FIGHT THE WAR THROUGH TO TRAGIC END. BELOE, SECRETARY TO ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, SAID THAT MOJEKNU IS ARRANGING FLIGHT FROM LISBON TO BIAFRA, AND HAS ASSURANCES THAT MOJEKNU WILL NOT ALLOW FLIGHT TO TAKE PLACE IF RISKS ARE TOO GREAT. (CO HAS WARNED CHURCH LEADERS OF GREAT PHYSICAL RISK IN MAKING TRIP AT THIS TIME. BELOE ALSO SAID CHURCH LEADERS AWARE OF RISK OF APPEARING BIASED IN FAVOR OF BIAFRA. EXAMPLE OF REV. JOHNSON IS IN THEIR MINDS).

GP-1

MATHEWS

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